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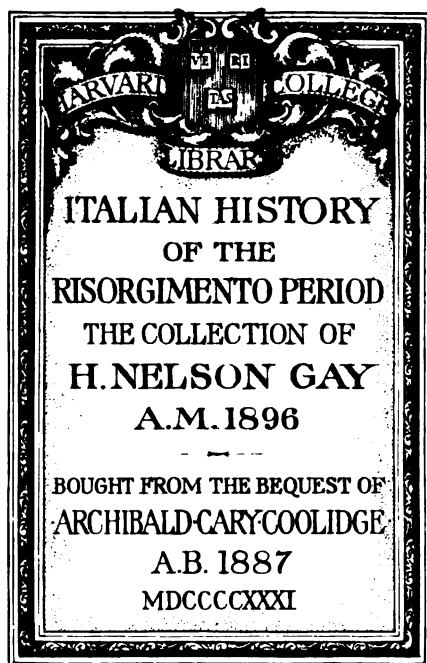
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After the Painting by Thomas Sully

Queen Victoria

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1917

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1917



Queen Victoria

VICTORIA REGINA

HER COURT AND HER SUBJECTS

FROM HER ACCESSION TO THE
DEATH OF THE PRINCE-CONSORT

By FITZGERALD MOLLOY

Author of

"The Russian Court in the Eighteenth Century"

"The Sailor King," "The Romance of Royalty"

"Sir Joshua and his Circle," etc., etc.

WITH EIGHTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS IN-
CLUDING TWO PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES

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CHAPTER I

THE turret clock in Kensington Palace had not yet struck five on the morning of June 20, 1837, when a carriage covered with dust and drawn by horses flecked with foam drew up at its principal entrance. Already the sun had flashed signals of gold across wide spaces of skies ; but as yet the land slept ; silvery phantasmal mists hung above the surrounding garden's wide glades, the Round Pond, and grassy slopes.

From the carriage stepped two men, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Conyngham, bearers of important news—that His Majesty William IV. had died at twelve minutes past two o'clock that morning at Windsor Castle. This news they hastened to communicate to his successor, the only child of the late Duke of Kent, born May 24, 1819, now in the first month of her nineteenth year, and up to this hour known as the Princess Victoria. Their violent ringing at the palace brought no immediate answer. It was only when it was repeated that bolts were slowly withdrawn, chains undone, and the door opened to show the surprised face of a sleepy half-dressed porter.

To him was delivered a message to the personal attendants of the Princess requesting that they would ask her to see His Majesty's Chamberlain and the Archbishop of Canterbury with as little delay as possible. Having shown them into a sitting-room the porter hastened to obey an order the significance of which he understood. For many minutes they were left alone in this lofty apartment, with its oak panels, its polished floor and heavy furniture, the chill air of which contrasted with the growing splendour of the summer morning. Eventually at the sound of an opening door they turned alert and expectant, only to see the Princess's Hanoverian governess Madame Lehzen, a woman stout and blond in appearance and authoritative in bearing, who with a self-important air assured them "her charge was in such a sweet sleep she could not be disturbed." Hearing this, Lord Conyng-ham told her sharply, "We have come on business of State to the Queen, and even her sleep must give way to that," on which Madame Lehzen left. His words were repeated to the Duchess of Kent, who up to this time had always occupied the same room with the Princess whom she now woke. A few minutes later the young Sovereign quietly entered the apartment where she was awaited, a shawl wrapped over her dressing-gown, her bare feet in slippers. A girl in appearance, she was rather low in stature, her large blue eyes bright with intelligence, her soft brown hair hanging

about her shoulders. Lord Conyngham at once advanced to make known his errand, but no sooner did he utter the words "Your Majesty" than she instantly put out her hand that he might kiss it before proceeding further, which he did on bended knee. She then presented it to the Archbishop. Having heard with calmness from the Chamberlain the news for which her uncle's condition had long prepared her, and listened without signs of impatience to "a sort of pastoral charge" which his Grace addressed to her, she made some inquiries about Queen Adelaide, then calmly bowed and retired.

In this way, in the silence of a summer morning, while her subjects slept, without ostentation and with a simplicity in accordance with her early life, the momentous news was made known to the Princess that she had become Sovereign Queen of England's vast dominions. To prepare her for the splendid position she was to hold, the possibility of which had lain before her since the death of her father when she was eight months old, all that affection and prudence and solicitude could suggest had been done. The untiring watchfulness of her mother, the instructions of governesses and tutors, the example of those surrounding her, were not lost upon her. A naturally quick intelligence, an adaptable mind, and a strong individuality had absorbed and profited by such advantages. As a result the Princess, while little more than a child

in years, had the discretion, tact, caution, and self-possession of a woman.

Days which previously had been mapped out into hours for lessons, rides, exercise, visits to noble houses, or great centres of commerce were now to be devoted in a great part to the business and responsibilities of her high position. As early as nine o'clock on this memorable morning the young Queen may be said to have begun the cares of State ; for at that hour she was waited on by the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, who was to become the faithful servant, counsellor, and intimate friend of Her Majesty in the first most trying years of her reign. Seeing him alone, she assured him it had been for some time her intention to retain his Government. A tall man with a singularly handsome face and noble presence, Lord Melbourne was frank and unconventional in manner, shrewd and somewhat cynical in his speech which was liberally interlarded with oaths, an omnivorous reader, a student of theology who found the Fathers of the Church "excellent reading and very amusing," an enlightened politician, easy-going to the verge of laziness, reliable to friends, one incapable of bearing malice towards opponents, easily impressed by women's beauty, and at heart a gentleman whose courtesy charmed all. Now in his forty-eighth year, he had passed through emotional experiences among which were his romantic and unhappy marriage with a

beautiful and fantastic wife, and his appearance as co-respondent in the Divorce Court, an intimate account of which will be found in the pages of *The Sailor King; His Court and His Subjects*. There also may be read details of his political relations with that monarch who excepted him from the suspicion and dislike with which he regarded his other ministers; and of whom Melbourne in return spoke of as "a being of the most uncompromising and firmest honour that ever it pleased Divine Providence to set upon the throne."

During the last days of the late King, Melbourne had constantly been in communication with the Princess Victoria, whom he prepared for the great event of her succession, but without in the least striving to ingratiate himself or curry favour for his party. Her Majesty had already come to regard him with esteem, to look to him for instruction in the ceremonies relating to her accession; one of the first of which was the holding of a Privy Council in which she would be proclaimed. The Queen having agreed that this should be held at eleven o'clock that morning at Kensington Palace, Melbourne promptly issued orders for the assemblage of the heads of the Church and the Law, as well as all the great officers of State and Household and their predecessors in office.

Before and after the hour named, the usually quiet suburb of Kensington, then divided from London by market-gardens and grazing-fields, was thrown

into a condition of excitement by the hurried driving to the palace of coaches and carriages. Those they contained were, on their arrival, ushered through the State apartments first used by William of Orange and later by Queen Anne, into the Council-chamber, where impressed by the unusual importance of the occasion, curious regarding the personality of the new Sovereign of whom little was known to the majority, hopeful or doubtful of the future fortunes of their individual party, they anxiously awaited for a sight of the young Queen. In all they numbered many who had made or were destined to make the political history of their country.

Among them were two of the Queen's uncles, the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, the former a stern opposer of progress, detested by the nation, and dreaded by the Duchess of Kent because of his unconcealed desire to occupy the throne from which the life of the Princess alone debarred him ; the latter a peaceful and benevolent prince. Beside these, wearing a wig, bands, and gown, was the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here also were Dr. Blomfield, who as a boy in his father's school had decided to become a bishop and now filled the See of London ; Bernard Charles, twelfth Duke of Norfolk and Earl-marshal of England, who since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, had been permitted to take a seat in the House of Lords ; the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of the

Council ; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Steward ; Lord Lyndhurst, a native of America, and the son of an artist, who had formerly been Lord Chancellor ; Lord Cottenham, Lord High Chancellor ; the Duke of Wellington, who had passed his sixty-seventh year, keen-visaged, upright, and iron-grey, eager to place his services at the disposal of the fourth Sovereign whom he had seen upon the throne ; Earl Grey and Sir Robert Peel, former Prime Ministers ; Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary ; Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary ; Lord Morpeth, Chief Secretary for Ireland ; Lord Howick, Secretary for War ; the brilliant Lord Stanley, subsequently fourteenth Earl of Derby ; Earl Jersey ; the irresponsible and eccentric Lord Brougham ; Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief ; Lord Albemarle, the Master of the Horse ; and of course the Prime Minister, jovial, and with a familiar nod or pleasant word for one and all ; and various others.

For a while all was confusion and bustle, the door continually opening to admit fresh arrivals, officials going to and fro, greetings being exchanged, opinions canvassed, hopes expressed. But at last the President of the Council rose, and on gaining silence announced the demise of the Crown and stated that their first duty was formally to acquaint the new Sovereign with that fact. As however there were so many in attendance—the Privy Councillors present numbering ninety-seven—he thought it best that only a few of them

should wait on Her Majesty for that purpose. At that the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Melbourne passed into an adjoining apartment where the Queen received them and listened to the announcement. They then returned to the outer room, when the proclamation was read.

No sooner was it finished than the communicating doors were thrown open. All eyes turned to see the girl Queen enter alone, small in stature, plainly dressed in black and wearing no ornaments, apparently unembarrassed, but showing a self-possession and dignity of bearing that deeply impressed all present. Bowing to the assembly, she seated herself on the chair raised on a platform covered with scarlet cloth and placed at the head of the Council-table. In her hand was the speech which Lord Melbourne and Lord Lansdowne had prepared some days previously, and that she at once proceeded to read in a clear untroubled voice of singular sweetness. Its sentences were few. One of them referred to the awful responsibility so suddenly imposed on her and at so early a period in her life, a responsibility which she hoped Divine Providence would give her strength to fulfil; while another said that educated in England under the tender care of a most affectionate mother, she had learned from infancy to respect and love the constitution of her native country.

The oaths for the maintenance of Church and State

having been administered to Her Majesty, the Privy Councillors were sworn ; the Royal Dukes being the first to kiss hands and swear obedience on bended knees ; speaking of which Charles Greville, who as Clerk of the Council was present, says : " As these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her swearing allegiance and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to the eyes as if she felt the contrast between their civil and their natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion she evinced." As the Duke of Sussex, who was rather infirm, approached, the Queen rose from her chair and moved towards him ; but when she kissed both she made no difference in her manner towards them whose feelings towards her were so different. Then came the turn of the Archbishop who had given her religious instructions, but whom she now received " as if she had no knowledge of him," as the Duke of Wellington told the Portuguese Ambassador, adding that " her impassive face then made a great impression on him." During the subsequent swearing of the Privy Council and of the delivery by the Ministers of their respective seals of office, she exhibited the same amazing self-possession as from the first, only on rare occasions when in doubt as to how she should act, looking towards Melbourne for instruction.

The ceremony being ended she bowed modestly and slowly passed into the adjoining room, leaving

as Alexandrina Victoria, she had signed the register at her first Council merely by her second name. At baptism she had been called Alexandrina, after the Czar Alexander I., who through his ambassador to the Court of St. James had been one of her sponsors; while her second name—that of her mother—was added by the Prince Regent as a substitute to that of Elizabeth which her father proposed to give her and by way of opposing his wishes. Although in infancy she was known as Drina to her nearest relatives, this was changed in her early childhood to that of Victoria by the desire of the Duchess of Kent. Strange as it may appear to those with whom long familiarity made it seem most fitting to her personality, it was strongly objected to by a section of her future subjects “because of its foreign derivation.” Expression of this dislike had been given only a few months before her accession, when on an additional grant being made her by Parliament, two influential members of the House of Commons, Sir Matthew White Ridley and Sir Robert Inglis, had urged that as the name Victoria “did not accord with the feelings of the English people,” the princess on coming to the throne should assume the style of Elizabeth II. This suggestion was repugnant to the future Sovereign who felt a strong antipathy to Queen Elizabeth and “deprecated any association with her.” At this Council Her Majesty gave the first intimation as a Sovereign of her determination: for

though her wish to be styled and known as Queen Victoria involved considerable delay and trouble in the substitution of parchment documents for those in which she had been named Alexandrina Victoria, it was complied with.

Between her first Council and her proclamation the young Sovereign found time to write a letter of condolence to Queen Adelaide ; who estimable and sympathetic had admirably fulfilled all the duties of her sphere save that of providing her husband with an heir ; and for whom the Princess Victoria had always felt a warm affection. Having addressed this letter to the Queen, the Baroness Lehzen always exasperatingly correct pointed out that the word "dowager" should be prefixed, but its writer refused to alter the superscription, saying she would not be the first person to remind her of it. This instance of kindly thought was equalled when later, before driving down to Windsor to visit Queen Adelaide, she said to Lord Melbourne, that as it might be thought necessary on her arrival at the Castle to raise the Royal Standard flying half-mast high from the Round Tower, she wished to give orders beforehand that it should not be done. This caused much surprise to the Prime Minister who was struck not only by the tact but by the knowledge of form and attention to trifles which it indicated. Her meeting with the royal widow was extremely affectionate, both being overcome and crying freely. Before leaving, the

young Sovereign begged that her aunt would not quit the Castle until it suited her health and convenience ; and that when doing so she should take with her any ornament or article of furniture which association had made dear to her. To Queen Adelaide's request that the late King's personal servants should be provided for, Queen Victoria replied that it would be attended to, but that she could not give any promise on the subject ; and when a suggestion was made by the widow that the band might be taken into the service of the young Queen the latter said she could not incur an expense so great without further consideration ; instances of the extreme caution with which she acted.

In the general bustle and spontaneous outburst of loyalty caused by the accession of a young girl to a throne which for seven years had been occupied by an elderly man, the late King was almost forgotten. As impulsive in speech as an ordinary mortal, and more wanting in judgment than most of his subjects, he had a heart unacquainted with guile, and a manner that scorned tactful insincerity. But these were qualities that did not tend to make the passing of their possessor a matter for national mourning, especially in an hour which promised novelty and excitement. Few except those officially concerned had time to think of His Majesty whose embalmed body lay in state in the Waterloo Chamber at Windsor Castle. On the day of the funeral—July 8, 1837—Charles Greville saw a

number of persons of all ranks and stations loitering about the room and its vicinity, "chattering and laughing and with nothing of woe about them but the garb. I saw two men in an animated conversation, and one laughing heartily at the very foot of the coffin as it was lying in state. The chamber of death in which the body lay, all hung with black and adorned with escutcheons and every sort of funeral finery, was like a scene in a play, and as we passed through it and looked at the scaffolding and rough work behind, it was just like going behind the scenes of a theatre." When at nine o'clock at night the royal remains were placed in the vaults of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the ceremony was witnessed by the Queen-dowager; she being the only Queen-consort in English history who had ever seen her husband laid in his tomb.

On the recommendation of her Prime Minister, the young Sovereign granted to King William's family—the sons and daughters of Mrs. Jordan, the eldest of whom had been created Earl of Munster by his father—the same allowance as they had enjoyed in his reign. It would be kind, Melbourne said, it would be generous, and it would be conclusive; for "no further demand could be made after the Queen had given them as much as the late King."

Up to the date of her accession the Princess Victoria had seldom if ever been permitted to absent herself even for a few hours from her mother, whose bedroom

she shared. In her devotion to her daughter the Duchess of Kent was not always judicious ; for by her unflinching assertion of the rights and dignities due to the heir to the crown, she had frequently exasperated the late King, between whom and herself a complete rupture had taken place but a few months before his death. There is reason to believe that the Princess Victoria whose discretion was beyond that of her years, had sympathised with her uncle in the disputes between him and her mother ; who among other ways had displeased him by refusing the establishment he had wished to give his heir on her reaching her eighteenth birthday, the Duchess fearing that the King in appointing the Household would select those unfriendly to herself. With the change in her position the young Queen made it evident that an alteration should also take place in her surroundings. One of the first of these was to appropriate a suite of apartments in Kensington Palace to her mother for her own use. Another was her immediate action regarding Sir John Conroy, chief adviser and master of the household to the Duchess, whom she dismissed in an "almost contemptuous way," giving him a pension of three thousand a year, but disregarding his request for an Irish peerage and the Red Ribbon, and never afterwards showing him the slightest personal favour. It was also made plain to the Duchess of Kent, whom she always treated with kindness and attention, that

she must not expect to share the councils of the Sovereign. To one long accustomed to dominate, this was a disappointment and a vexation.

A relative with whom the Duchess of Kent had never been on friendly terms and whom she had always dreaded, the Duke of Cumberland, was now to leave England for ever. In 1814 the Electorate of Hanover had been raised to a kingdom by the Congress of Vienna, when George III. became King of Hanover ; a sovereignty which was of course inherited by his successors to the English crown. As the Salic law of Hanover did not permit Queen Victoria to fill its throne, it was therefore inherited by the next male heir to the Crown of England, Ernest Duke of Cumberland. During the reign of William IV., his youngest surviving brother Adolphus Frederick Duke of Cambridge, had acted as Regent but was now recalled to give place to his eldest surviving brother who became King.

From the first hour of her reign innumerable and important duties occupied the young Sovereign. Deputation after deputation inflicted loyal addresses on her which she listened and replied to with no outward sign of weariness ; she received the credentials of the ambassadors and envoys with a composure that amazed these wary diplomatists ; and her accession making a general election necessary, she dissolved Parliament on July 17, when she read her speech in

an unfaltering voice, the clear enunciation and melodious tones of which struck all present with admiration. Four days later she left Kensington Palace where she had been born and bred and took possession of Buckingham Palace then surrounded by shabby streets, stables, and mews. This residence which had been bought at a cost of twenty thousand pounds for George III. soon after his marriage in 1760, had been rebuilt in 1825 from designs by John Nash, by order of George IV., who did not live to inhabit it. As William IV. disliked it, the palace had remained unoccupied during his reign ; so that Queen Victoria was the first Sovereign to live in it since its renovation. As she drove under the Marble Arch which then stood in front of its principal entrance—and that was removed to its present position in Hyde Park in 1851—Her Majesty was seen to smile delightedly, and she had no sooner entered the palace than she set out to explore its great rooms and long corridors with the joyous curiosity of a bride examining her new home.

It was not here but at St. James's Palace that the Queen held her first levee on July 19, and her first drawing-room on the following day, both of which were attended by immense crowds. Before that date a matter of direct personal importance to the Queen had been settled : the formation of her Household. For this precedents had to be searched, when it was found that the last English female Sovereign, Queen

Anne, had a Privy Purse, a Groom of the Stole, a first Lady, and ten other Ladies of the Bedchamber. This was a Household which Queen Victoria considered unnecessarily large, and it was ultimately decided that her establishment should consist of one Mistress of the Robes and six Ladies-in-waiting. By the express desire of Her Majesty the former position was first offered to the Marchioness of Lansdowne, but her delicate health and her grief at the recent loss of her eldest son, led her to refuse it, though she accepted the position of first Lady-in-waiting on its being intimated that no formal attendance would be required of her. The Queen eventually appointed as her Mistress of the Robes the Duchess of Sutherland whose gracious manner and intellectual gifts immediately won her that intimate friendship of her Sovereign which she retained to the end of her life. Owing to the seclusion in which Her Majesty had been reared she had no friends and few acquaintances among the wives and daughters of the nobility ; and therefore accepted the selection of the remainder of the Ladies of her Household made by Lord Melbourne, whose choice fell on members of the families of his Ministers and adherents ; a choice which was soon to bring vexation to the Queen.

Another matter of special interest to the young Sovereign was the fixing of her Civil List. This could not be done until the new Parliament had assembled.

Meantime, indeed three days after her accession, she received a letter from Sir Coutts Trotter, written on behalf of his firm stating that as the late Duke of Kent and other members of the Royal Family had honoured Messrs. Coutts by making them their bankers, he respectfully desired to place their funds at the disposition of Her Majesty during the interval that must elapse before the arrangement of the new Civil List should be made. At the general elections in November a fierce battle was fought all over the country in which the Queen's name was used as a party cry ; the Tories declaring her to be a prisoner in the hands of their opponents from whom they were chivalrously eager to rescue her ; while the Whigs boasted of her favour towards themselves. For this vaunting there was some reason. The chief of their party, Lord Melbourne, had from the first not only by his own personal traits but by the consideration he showed and the paternal interest he took in all that concerned her, won Her Majesty's confidence and friendship ; while in acting as her secretary in all that related to public business—an office he had voluntarily undertaken on failing to secure a reliable individual for that difficult and responsible post—he was continually beside her, sharing not only her councils but her recreations. It was only natural therefore that Her Majesty should desire that a position which brought its holder into continual association with herself, should

continue to be held by Lord Melbourne, and that she should show a strong interest in the success of the Whig candidates.

Her wishes were gratified, for the Whigs were returned to power by a majority of thirty-eight, so that Melbourne retained his premiership. The Queen opened her first Parliament on November 20, 1837. Among her faithful Commons were two of her future Prime Ministers, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli; the first of whom then in his twenty-ninth year, had first been returned to Parliament in 1832; while the latter after two unsuccessful attempts and a complete change of political opinion, had just entered the House as the Tory representative for Maidstone. The first business of the new Parliament was the settlement of the Civil List. Melbourne having sifted every detail of the expenditure in former reigns, and taken into consideration the circumstances of past and present times, decided to propose a more liberal provision for Her Majesty than that which her predecessor had been granted. He therefore, as we read in his *Memoirs*, instructed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spring Rice, to "come prepared to act boldly and liberally, and by no means to fiddle upon small points and about petty salaries." The proposal to fix the Civil List at three hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds—being ten thousand more than that enjoyed

by William IV.—was ultimately accepted by the House, in spite of the efforts of two Radical members, Joseph Hume and Benjamin Hawes, who strove to reduce it, the one by fifty thousand and the other by ten thousand pounds. At the same time a grant of thirty thousand a year was made to the Duchess of Kent. One of the first uses of the money which the Civil List placed in her possession, was to pay her father's debts which amounted to nearly fifty thousand pounds, and that had been one of the first subjects on which she had spoken to Melbourne. On December 23, 1837, Her Majesty drove in state to Parliament to return thanks for these grants.

In the early months of her reign it was the Queen's habit to spend some hours of the morning in transacting business with Melbourne, who as the Duke of Wellington said, taught her "to preside over the destinies of this great country." Then came lunch, and afternoon rides with him and a large suite either in the park or to Chelsea, Wimbledon, Edgeware, or Clapham—then villages surrounded by orchards and market gardens. Little ceremony as to precedence was observed during these rides or those which later were taken at Windsor. The Queen generally mounted on her favourite chestnut horse Emperor, a spirited animal which she rode with graceful dexterity, led the way. The Duchess of Kent at one side, and on the other Wellington, Melbourne, Lord Conyngham, or

others whom in turn she summoned and talked with. Occasionally as on the birthday of the Duchess of Kent and other anniversaries there were concerts at Buckingham Palace when Grisi, Tamburini, Lablache, and Albertazzi sang to the pianoforte accompaniment of Signor Costa ; or when Thalberg gave a recital. Now and then there were small informal dances, generally restricted to the royal suite and thoroughly enjoyed by the Queen who sometimes prolonged them until the small hours. One of the dancers, the Hon. Georgiana Liddell who subsequently became Lady Bloomfield, used long afterwards to record a certain summer morning when the dance ended, Her Majesty went out on the roof of the portico to watch the sun rise, and see the vast dome of St. Paul's, and the nearer towers of Westminster Abbey blackly outlined against the deepening gold of the sky.

Dinner parties were also frequently given by the Queen. In describing one of these to which he was bidden Charles Greville says that the guests—among whom were Lord Cottenham the Lord Chancellor, Lord Conyngham Lord Chamberlain to the late King, Lord and Lady Rosebery, Lord and Lady Grey, Baron Munchhausen, the Hanoverian Minister, Lord Ossulton—assembled in the round room, and just before dinner was announced—at half-past seven—the Queen entered with her mother, preceded by her Lord Chamberlain, and followed by her six ladies.

“She shook hands with the women and made a sweeping bow to the men, and directly went in to dinner.” In the absence of Melbourne who always sat at her left hand when dining at the royal table, Baron Munchhausen occupied that place, Lord Conyngham sitting at the other side of Her Majesty. The dinner, says Greville, was like any other great dinner, but at its finish her health was drunk. ‘Then “the Queen sat for some time at table talking away very merrily to her neighbours, and the men remained about a quarter of an hour after the ladies. When we went into the drawing-room and huddled about the door in the sort of half-shy, half-awkward way people do, the Queen advanced to meet us, and spoke to everybody in succession.” Greville was invited to join a whist party at the Duchess of Kent’s table while “the rest of the company were arranged about a large round table (the Queen on the sofa by it) where they passed about an hour and a half in what was probably the smallest possible talk, interrupted and enlivened, however, by some songs which Lord Ossulston sang. We had plenty of instrumental music during and after dinner. To form an opinion or the slightest notion of her real character and capacity from such a formal affair as this, is manifestly impossible,” he adds. “Nobody expects from her any clever, amusing, or interesting talk, above all no stranger can expect it. She is very civil to everybody,

and there is more frankness, cordiality, and good-humour in her manner than of dignity. She looks and speaks cheerfully; there was nothing to criticise, nothing particularly to admire."

Within a couple of months of her accession, on August 22, 1837, Her Majesty removed⁷ to Windsor, from which shortly after King William's death, his Consort had retired to Bushey House where the early years of her married life had been happily spent. Seated with the Duchess of Kent, Lady Flora Hastings, and Lady Charlotte Copley in an open phaeton drawn by four horses, the Queen drove from Buckingham Palace, attended by a detachment of lancers. At various points of her route she passed under triumphal arches, and on reaching the royal borough found it decked with evergreens, hung with flags, and thronged with those who welcomed her with ringing cheers and waving handkerchiefs. To celebrate the event about four thousand poor people were given a dinner in the Long Walk.

In the following month and while still at Windsor, the Queen received a visit from a relative who above all others save her mother, had from her infancy shown the keenest interest in her prospects, the warmest affection for her. This was her maternal uncle Leopold I., King of the Belgians. The youngest son of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, Prince Leopold from the beginning of his life had good fortune thrust

upon him. Entering the Russian army he was quickly raised to the rank of General ; not in reward for valiant deeds or wise counsel, but because his sister Julienne had married the Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Alexander I. Later on accompanying the Czar to Paris, Prince Leopold was declared by Napoleon to be "one of the handsomest and finest young men of his time" ; while on coming to England in the suite of the Allied Sovereigns, he won without an effort the affection of the Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales, only child of the Prince Regent by his wife the Princess Caroline, and heir-presumptive to the throne. Though the Princess Charlotte was the greatest matrimonial prize in Europe, and though it was generally understood that she was to marry the Prince of Orange, yet from the moment she saw Prince Leopold she was determined that he was the man she would wed.

Consent having been given to her choice, her future husband was made a naturalised British subject on March 27, 1816, when he received the title of Duke of Kendal, and was given the rank of General in the English Army. His marriage with the Princess Charlotte was celebrated at Carlton House on the following May 2. Eighteen months later, November 6, 1817, the Princess died in childbirth. After her death he chiefly lived at Claremont, which Parliament had granted him for life, together with an annuity of fifty thousand pounds. In the year following his bereave-

ment, his sister Victoria, widow of Ernest Charles, Prince of Leiningen, married the Duke of Kent, and on May 24, 1819, gave birth to a child who was to become Queen Victoria. Eight months later the Duke of Kent died, January 20, 1820, leaving his widow who was comparatively ignorant of the language and manners of her adopted country, who was not popular with her husband's relatives, the grave responsibility of bringing up the heiress to the throne. From the first, Prince Leopold aided his sister by his judicious advice, and acted as a father to his niece.

A man who cared little for power and loved the independence of a quiet life, he in no way anticipated or sought the regal position that was to be thrust upon him ; but in the expectation of spending his days in retirement, hemorganatically married Caroline Bauer, a German actress who had made a brilliant success both in tragedy and comedy, and who was seventeen years his junior. Their married life was brief and unhappy, and in 1831 she returned to the stage. In the previous year, fresh and unsought honours had been offered him, when he was invited to occupy the throne of Greece. This he was willing to do only on conditions that were not accepted ; but fate still persisting in uplifting him, he was in 1831 elected King of the Belgians. His position was strengthened and his happiness secured by his marriage in August 1832, with the Princess Louise Marie of Orleans, eldest daughter of Louis

Philippe. Among other children of this marriage were Leopold, who succeeded his father on the throne of Belgium, and the Princess Charlotte, who married the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, afterwards Emperor of Mexico, and who subsequently became hopelessly insane.

On leaving England to become King of the Belgians, Leopold did not resign his annuity of fifty thousand pounds allowed him by Government, lest some day he might abdicate or be dethroned, when he should need it ; on the other hand he drew but twelve thousand a year of that allowance which was paid in pensions to his own servants and those of his late Consort. His resignation of the Belgian throne was not considered improbable in the earlier years of his reign ; and writing in May, 1838, Greville tells us he heard "that Leopold is deadly sick of his Belgian crown, and impatient to abdicate, thinking that it is a better thing to be an English Prince, uncle to the Queen, with fifty thousand a year, than to be monarch of a troublesome vulgar little kingdom which all its neighbours regard with an evil or a covetous eye."

Whilst wearing the crown of Belgium, Leopold did not cease to exert his watchful interest over the Princess Victoria, whose marriage he regarded with the greatest concern as being the event in her life most likely to secure or mar her happiness. Long before she was made aware of his choice, he had selected as

her future Consort, the younger son of his brother the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, Prince Albert, who born in August, 1819, was three months the junior of the Princess. With this idea before him, King Leopold carefully supervised his nephew's education, and arranged with the Duchess of Kent that he and his elder brother Ernest, should be invited on a visit to Kensington Palace for the celebration of her daughter's seventeenth birthday, May 1836. It was then the Princess met her future Consort for the first time. Her uncle's desire that Prince Albert should one day hold that position, was kept a secret from her, lest it might embarrass her.

The motive for which the young Princes had been brought to England being seen by William IV., he determined to thwart so far as he could an arrangement approved of by the Duchess of Kent and her brother ; and for that purpose invited the young Duke of Brunswick, together with the Prince of Orange and his two sons, to stay with him at Windsor. The Prince of Orange who had been discarded by the late Princess Charlotte for Leopold, heartily detested him ; of whom he used to say, "*Voilà un homme qui a pris ma femme et mon royaume.*" His eagerness to see his second son Alexander, win the affections of the Princess Victoria was only equalled by that of King William who gave her every opportunity of meeting all these youths, Prince George of Cambridge included, at

balls, concerts, dinners, reviews, and other entertainments that he provided for them. As Prince Albert stayed under the same roof with his cousin, his opportunities of seeing her were more frequent and intimate, and they walked, sketched, and played the piano together. This association did not lead to love on either side. The prince in writing home of her merely remarked, "Our cousin is very amiable." After his departure, on learning from her mother that he had been selected as her future husband, she wrote to the King of the Belgians—June 7, 1838—saying: "I have only now to beg you my dearest uncle, to take care of the health of one now so dear to me, and to take him under your protection. I hope and trust that all will go on prosperously and well on this subject now of so much importance to me."

That the Princess might have by her one on whose council she could rely, and at the same time that he might place with her one who would forward his own scheme for her marriage, King Leopold immediately on her accession despatched Baron Stockmar to the English Court. Here though his post was undefined his influence was sufficient to rouse a strong political feeling against him during his stay of fourteen months. Baron Stockmar was not a stranger to this country for in 1816, he had visited England with Prince Leopold to whom he acted as physician, as secretary, and subsequently as Controller of his House-



From an engraving by F. Bacon, after a painting by W. C. Ross, A.R.A.

H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT (1841).

hold. On Prince Leopold settling in Belgium, Baron Stockmar retired to Coburg where he constantly associated with the Saxe-Coburg family, and where he formed a high opinion of Prince Albert's character.

During the visit of King Leopold and his Consort to Windsor, the subject of the young Sovereign's marriage with Prince Albert was broached. The fact that in the previous month a handsome and youthful Prince of Denmark, had visited the English Court, and that her cousin Prince George of Cambridge had been freely spoken of as a fitting Consort, made her uncle more anxious to see his own choice accepted by her. He must therefore have been surprised and disappointed when, as Baron Stockmar relates in his Memoirs, the Queen told him that for the next three or four years she could not think of marriage, and that since her accession she had discontinued her correspondence with her cousin. In writing of this decision which subsequently she regretted, Her Majesty said (*Early Years*) : " The only excuse the Queen can make for herself is in the fact that the sudden change from the secluded life at Kensington to the independence of her position as Queen Regent, at the age of eighteen, put all ideas of marriage out of her mind, which she now most bitterly repents. A worse school for a young girl, or one more detrimental to all natural feelings and affections, cannot well be imagined than the position of a Queen at eighteen without experience

and without a husband to guide and support her." Though the project of her marriage with Prince Albert was postponed, it was never quite lost sight of.

The event in connection with the young Sovereign which, after her accession, most keenly interested and excited her subjects, was the Coronation which was fixed for June 28, 1838. It was the general wish that the ceremony should be stately and magnificent as became the occasion. Considerable disappointment was felt when it was known that such usages of ancient custom as the walking procession of all the estates of the realm, and the banquet in Westminster Hall with its feudal usages, were to be dispensed with. The statement that the procession of coaches, carriages, and cavalry should be larger in number than that of the last Coronation, and that its route should be more extended, did not appease the lovers of antiquity or the tradesmen. The grievance of the latter being loudly ventilated by the Press, meetings were held to protest against the omission of the banquet from the ceremonies and on May 28 a petition "from merchants, traders, and others" was presented to the House of Lords by the Marquess of Londonderry asking that the Coronation might be deferred until August, "and then be conducted on a scale of befitting splendour."

To this Earl Fitzwilliam replied that he "viewed the ceremony of a Coronation as little better than

an idle and ridiculous pageant: " and inquired if the loyalty of noble lords would "be augmented by the childish ceremony of putting coronets upon their heads." In his opinion coronations were only suitable to some barbarous age, and he was by no means certain that the exhibition of a youthful Princess to a staring populace was consistent with female delicacy. Hearing his views Lord Londonderry asked if Earl Fitzwilliam was of opinion there should be no Coronation, and on being answered in the affirmative, wished to know if he considered it advisable that there should no longer be an Earl Fitzwilliam. As no reply was made the Marquess of Salisbury rose to say he was less affected by the idle taunts of Lord Fitzwilliam, than by the public acknowledgment made to all the world that this great country could not afford to give a dinner to its Sovereign; adding, "I thank God however that Her Majesty's ministers have not relinquished the sacred part of the ceremony; and I thank God too that my Sovereign will do her duty."

For weeks previous to its date little was spoken of in London save the Coronation, and little was done except to prepare for it. Thousands of strangers flocked into the capital not only from the provinces but from the Continent; among the latter being the representatives of every European power. So that four hundred thousand individuals were added to the million and a half, which was then the population of the capital.

As the hotels and lodging-houses were unable to give accommodation to one half of those who sought it, rows upon rows of tents with floating banners were erected in the park, where cooking was also carried on. From the top of Piccadilly to Westminster Abbey—the procession route—a vast line of scaffolding was erected to the sound of the hammering of timber and the shouting of workmen, while the streets were thronged by bustling and excited people, crushing and jamming not only on the side-paths but in the centre of the thoroughfares where they mixed with horsemen, and carriages, and carts, causing indescribable confusion and uproar.

Little sleep was to be had during the short summer night previous to the great event, and at dawn on Thursday, June 28, all were astir ; soldiers tramping to their posts along the sanded line of the procession ; thousands of people hurrying in the same direction. The sky was grey and threatening ; at eight o'clock a heavy shower fell ; but two hours later when the Queen left Buckingham Palace and stepped into the state coach drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, the sun shone brilliantly on a scene radiant with the crimson and gold of uniforms, the glitter of cuirass and helmet, the multi-coloured hues of robe and gown, the blaze of jewels, and the splendour of the long line of gorgeously emblazoned coaches carrying the foreign ambassadors and ministers extraordinary.

To the thunder of cannon and the roar of acclamation the procession took its way up Constitution Hill, along Piccadilly, down St. James's Street and Pall Mall, and through Cockspur Street to Charing Cross and the Abbey, not only the stands along the route being thronged, but the windows and the roofs of houses; no less than two hundred thousand pounds being paid by the public for places to see this splendid sight. In the Abbey, impressive by its vastness, antiquity, and solemnity, the peers and peeresses, the Judges, Masters of Chancery, Knights of the Bath, the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London all in their robes, were already assembled, some of them having taken their seats as early as five o'clock. It was not until half-past eleven that the Coronation procession began to enter the building, where many of its prominent figures were greeted with applause and admiration. Among them was the Duke of Wellington, his thin shoulders raised, his white head bent, his face twitching; as well as his old antagonist of the Peninsular War, Marshal Soult, Duc de Dalmatia, now representing the King of France, who preceded by heralds and ushers and followed at a respectful distance by his numerous suite was led to his place. A warm greeting was also given to Prince Paul von Schwarzenberg, the Austrian ambassador extraordinary, not for his bravery but for his jewels which were valued at half a million florins; but who was outdone in

splendour by Prince Esterhazy who literally was covered from head to the heels of his boots by diamonds.

The most personal and realistic account of this wonderful ceremony is that given in her *Autobiography* by Harriet Martineau. Rising at half-past three on that June morning, she dressed and breakfasted hurriedly, and reaching the Abbey was shown to a seat in the gallery that gave her a full view of the north transept and of the spot where the throne was placed. Except for a mere sprinkling of oddities everybody she says was in full dress. "In the whole assemblage I counted six bonnets. The scarlet of the military officers mixed in well; and the groups of the clergy were dignified; but to an unaccustomed eye the prevalence of Court dress had a curious effect. I was perpetually taking whole groups of gentlemen for Quakers till I recollected myself. The Earl-marshal's assistants called Gold Sticks, looked well from above, lightly flitting about in white breeches, silk stockings, blue laced frocks, and white sashes. The first peeress took her seat in the north transept opposite at a quarter before seven; and three of the bishops came next. From that time the peers and their ladies arrived faster and faster. Each peeress was conducted by two Gold Sticks, one of whom handed her to her seat, and the other bore and arranged her train on her lap, and saw that her coronet, footstool, and book were comfortably placed.

"I never saw anywhere such a contrast between youth and age as in those noble ladies. None of the decent differences in dress which according to middle-class custom, pertain to contrasting periods of life seem to be admissible on these grand Court occasions. Old hags with their dyed and false hair drawn to the top of their head to allow the putting on of the coronet, had their necks and arms bare and glittering with diamonds, and those necks and arms were so brown, and wrinkled as to make one sick, or dusted over with white powder which was worse than what it disguised. The younger were as lovely as the aged were haggard. About nine the first gleams of the sun slanted into the Abbey, and presently travelled down to the peeresses. I had never before seen the full effect of diamonds. As the light travelled each peeress shone like a rainbow. The brightness, vastness, and dreamy magnificence of the scene produced a strange effect of exhaustion and sleepiness. . . . The guns told when the Queen had set forth, and there was renewed animation. The Gold Sticks flitted about, there was tuning in the orchestra, and the foreign ambassadors and their suites arrived in quick succession. Prince Esterhazy, crossing a bar of sunshine, was the most prodigious rainbow of all. He was covered with diamonds and pearls, and as he dangled his hat, it cast a dancing radiance all round. While he was thus glittering and gleaming, people

were saying that he had to redeem those jewels from pawn as usual for the occasion."

It was midday when the Queen entered the choir wearing a royal robe of crimson velvet and ermine over a dress of white satin ; a circlet of gold on her head, her train borne by eight ladies. At her appearance all rose, a jubilant peal of music rang through the Abbey, and the choir sang the anthem "I was glad." The ceremony that followed was an ordeal to Her Majesty ; an ordeal made more trying from the want of knowledge and awkwardness shown by the officiating bishops ; for "the different actors in the ceremonial were very imperfect in their parts and had neglected to rehearse them," as we are told by the Clerk of the Council. He adds that Lord John Thynne the Sub-Dean, who acted for the aged and infirm Dean, Dr. John Ireland, told him that nobody knew what was to be done with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself who had rehearsed it, and that consequently there was a continual difficulty and embarrassment, the Queen never knowing what she was to do next. In one instance the bishops made her leave her chair and enter St. Edward's Chapel before the prayers were ended, much to the discomfiture of the Archbishop ; and later she said to Lord John, "Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know." When the orb was put into her hand she asked what she was to do with it, and when told she was to carry

it replied, "Am I? It is very heavy." The Coronation ring had been made for her little finger instead of the third on which the rubric states it should be placed, and when the Archbishop insisted on putting it on the latter it had to be forced on and was the cause of much pain to its wearer.

It was regarded as a happy omen that a shaft of light piercing a transept window, fell upon her head as she knelt at the Communion-table. While homage was being paid to the Sovereign, an incident occurred that sent a thrill through all who saw it. Among those who advanced to touch her crown and kiss her hand, was Lord Rolle who had passed his eightieth year. Tall and infirm, he was held up by two peers but by some accident he slipped from their support on reaching the throne, and rolling down its steps lay at the bottom coiled up in his robes. "He was instantly lifted up, and he tried again and again, amidst shouts of admiration of his valour"; says Harriet Martineau. "The Queen at length spoke to Lord Melbourne who stood at her shoulder, and he bowed approval; on which she rose, leaned forward, and held out her hand to the old man, dispensing with his touching the crown. He was not hurt, and his self-quizzing on his misadventure was as brave as his behaviour at the time. A foreigner in London gravely reported to his own countrymen, what he entirely believed on the word of a wag, that the Lords

Rolle held their title on the condition of performing the feat at every Coronation." While homage was being paid the Earl of Surrey as Treasury of the Household, scattered silver Coronation medals, for which amid general confusion everybody scrambled with might and main, and none more vigorously than the Maids of Honour.

When the Communion service began it was accompanied by an unseemly shuffle of feet and general noise made by those who left their places that they might secure others on the route to the palace, to see the procession returning. The ceremony ended the Queen doffed her robe of crimson and ermine for one of imperial purple. With this depending from her shoulders, the crown upon her head, in her right hand the sceptre, in her left the orb, she proceeded to the palace. "I watched her out of doors, and then became aware how fearfully fatigued I was," writes Harriet Martineau. "I never remember anything like it. While waiting in the passages and between the barriers, several ladies sat or lay on the ground. I did not like to sink down in dust half a foot deep to the spoiling of my dress and the loss of my self-respect ; but it was really a terrible waiting till my brothers appeared at the end of the barrier. The crowd had rendered our return impossible till then : and even then we had to make a circuit."

If during the four and a half hours occupied by the

ceremony Her Majesty felt nervousness or fatigue she showed no signs of either as calm and dignified she passed through dense crowds delirious with excitement and rejoicing. On reaching the palace—according to Leslie the Academician who subsequently was commissioned to paint the Coronation scene—she became impatient to lay aside her robe and crown that she might give a bath to her favourite spaniel who had come to meet and greet her in the hall.

The Coronation of George IV. had cost two hundred and forty-three thousand pounds ; the expenses for that of William IV. had amounted to but fifty thousand pounds ; while the sum incurred by the Coronation of Queen Victoria amounted to seventy thousand pounds. In explaining the causes of this slight excess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, “that it was in no respect occasioned by any portion of the ceremonial peculiarly connected with the Sovereign, but had been incurred with a view of enabling the great mass of the people to participate in this national festivity.” The whole capital gave itself up to enjoyment. On the Coronation day a great fair was opened in Hyde Park, which occupied about a third of its area, and that lasted four days, on one of which it was visited by Her Majesty. Here were taverns, shows, exhibitions, and restaurants, that were thronged all day by hilarious people. Their excitement reached its height when they saw Mrs.

Graham accompanied by Captain Currie, ascend in a balloon and hover over London for an hour and a half before they descended in Marylebone Lane. On the same day the members of the principal clubs entertained their women friends—who had previously viewed the procession from these premises—to lunch ; the Athenæum inviting as many as twelve hundred ; the Oxford and Cambridge and the Reform six hundred ; and the Carlton three hundred and fifty. Her Majesty gave a dinner party to one hundred guests the same evening, and the Duke of Wellington gave a ball at Apsley House for which two thousand invitations were issued. Those who were not privileged to attend this festivity could be present at the free performances of the theatres whose managers received in return sums varying from four to one hundred pounds ; while all saw the illuminations which made the streets a blaze of coloured lights, and the fireworks sent up from the Green Park. To view these the Queen and her maids mounted to the roof of Buckingham Palace.

CHAPTER II

The Queen's delight is eclipsed by an unhappy affair—
The Duchess of Kent's Lady of the Bedchamber—
The first Marquis of Hastings—Lady Flora
Hastings' disorder—Sir James Clark's mistake—
The Duchess of Kent's indignation—A slander
refuted—Her Majesty's regrets with tears in her
eyes—Melbourne is blamed—Resigns over the
Jamaica Bill—The Queen's grief—Sir Robert
Peel's record of service—Is sent for by the
Sovereign—She refuses to part with her ladies—
Her letter to Lord Melbourne—A letter is drafted
for her—Peel's resignation and Melbourne's
explanation—The town is amazed and excited—The
need of a husband—Baron Stockmar's opinion of
Prince Albert—The Prince and his brother Prince
Ernest visit England—Arrival at Windsor—How
Her Majesty spent the day—Her proposal to Prince
Albert—Letter to the King of the Belgians—A
Council at Buckingham Palace—Strange rumour
regarding the Prince's religion—Questions by the
Duke of Wellington—His precedence discussed—
Resolve of the Tories and mortification of the
Queen—The final result—Fixing his allowance—
Colonel Sibthorp's motion—The Queen indig-
nant—Prince Albert does not allow himself to be
influenced—The marriage day—Not an arrangement
of State but genuine affection—Congratulations
from the public—The wedding breakfast—Setting
out for Windsor.

CHAPTER II

THE excitement, public enthusiasm, and splendid ceremonies connected with Her Majesty's accession brought her unbounded delight. But unhappily this was soon to be clouded by two events, the first of which while necessary to record, must be touched upon as delicately and briefly as possible.

For some years the position of Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Duchess of Kent, had been held by Lady Flora Hastings ; a daughter of the first Marquess of Hastings, who as Commander-of-the-Forces in India, and Governor-General of Bengal had proved himself a brave soldier and an able administrator. That he had filled these posts and died poor, indicated the sterling honesty of his character. Early in January 1839, Lady Flora returned from Loudon Castle the ancestral home of her mother, who in her own right was Countess of Mure and Loudon. Lady Flora who at this time was in her thirty-third year, was a woman of refined and gentle manner, delicate in appearance, and with a talent for writing flowing and musical verse. Though she had been unwell for some time, she went into waiting on the Duchess of Kent at the beginning of

the month. On the 10th she consulted Sir James Clark formerly a surgeon in the Navy, but at this time physician to Her Majesty, and to the Duchess of Kent. Sir James failed to diagnose the complaint from which she suffered, enlargement of the liver. Later he was willing to give credit to the Queen's Ladies of the Bedchamber for a skill he did not possess, and on their declaring that Lady Flora's complaint was due to another cause, he agreed with them.

The subject was freely discussed by the Ladies of the Bedchamber, and then brought to the notice of the Queen, though not to that of the Duchess of Kent. Nor was Lady Flora made aware of it until rumour having swelled to accusation, in which Lady Portman and Lady Tavistock were chiefly concerned, "it was determined" writes Sir James Clark in his statement of the case, that she should be made aware of the suspicions whispered about her. Waiting on her for this purpose, February 16, he told her that her appearance led it to be supposed she must be privately married, and urged her "as the only means of saving her character" to confess to her union. In this interview Sir James, according to Lady Flora, became "violent and coarse, and even attempted to browbeat her"; a description which he thought misrepresented "the earnestness that I may have shown in my manner." Lady Flora indignantly repudiated the

imputation of pregnancy ; on which she was told that nothing but her submission to an examination would satisfy the ladies of the palace, or "remove the stigma from her name." From her he went to the Duchess of Kent who heard of his suspicions with indignation. While he was still with her, Lady Portman entered the room with a message from Her Majesty to her mother, to say "that the Queen would not permit Lady Flora to appear until the examination had taken place." Having with some reluctance obtained the permission of the Duchess of Kent, Lady Flora agreed to submit to this ordeal, "feeling it her duty to her royal highness, to her family, and to herself, that a point-blank refutation should be instantly given to the lie." At its conclusion a certificate, dated February 17, 1839, was signed by Sir James Clark and Sir Charles Clarke, physician to Queen Adelaide, stating that there were no grounds for the suspicion that pregnancy existed, or ever had existed.

The rumour concerning Lady Flora's condition quickly spread all over the town and thence to the country, where hearing it her brother the Marquess of Hastings—though seriously ill—immediately came to London and obtained an interview with the Queen, when he strongly expressed his indignation at the slander and his determination to discover and punish its author. Lady Flora in writing to one of her relatives expressed her belief that "the Queen was

surprised into the order which was given, and that Her Majesty did not understand what she was betrayed into; for ever since the horrid event, Her Majesty has showed her regret by the most gracious kindness, and expressed it warmly with tears in her eyes." The conduct of the Duchess of Kent was described by her as perfect, "a mother could not have been kinder." One instance of her indignation against those who had inflicted pain and humiliation on Lady Flora, was to dismiss Sir James Clark from her service, and another was to refuse to see Lady Portman.

As long as possible news of this unpleasant transaction was kept from Lady Hastings, but on it reaching her she wrote from Loudon Castle Ayrshire, to the Queen, appealing to her to refute by some act, her indignation of the slanders cast on Lady Flora. To this a reply came from Lord Melbourne stating that Her Majesty commanded him to convey the expression of her deep concern at the unfortunate circumstances that had taken place. "Her Majesty," he continued, "hastened to seize the first opportunity of testifying to Lady Flora Hastings her conviction of the error of the impression which had prevailed; and Her Majesty is still more desirous to do everything in her power to soothe the feelings of Lady Flora and her family, which must have been painfully affected by the events which have occurred." To this the Marchioness wrote to the Prime Minister, asking

as a mark of public reparation that Sir James Clark should be removed from the service of the Queen as he had already from that of her mother. To this Melbourne replied, March 17, that "the demand which your Ladyship's letter makes upon me is so unprecedented and objectionable that even the respect due to your Ladyship's sex, rank, family, and character, would not justify me in more, if indeed it authorises so much, than acknowledging that letter for the sole purpose of acquainting your Ladyship that I have received it."

This letter was not likely to soothe the feelings of the Hastings family members of which sent to the *Examiner* and *Morning Post* the correspondence which had passed between them and Lord Melbourne. Sir James Clark's statement of the case followed, and by its weakness added fuel to the fire of indignation aroused by this unfortunate affair throughout the kingdom. The worry and publicity it brought upon her—at a period when gentlewomen did not seek notoriety—aggravated Lady Flora's ailment. On the morning of July 4 (1839), a banquet which was to have been given that evening at Buckingham Palace was suddenly postponed; and on the following day Lady Flora died there.

None more deeply deplored the whole unhappy transaction than the Queen. Sir James Clark lost a large practice, but general blame fell upon Melbourne

for the part he had taken in the affair, and his political opponents the Tories, seized upon the scandal and used it as a weapon to smite him and his ministers. In letters and pamphlets that fell in scores from the Press, his influence over the young Sovereign was exaggerated and blamed ; his "extraordinary domiciliation" in the palaces was severely commented on and given as the cause of his alleged neglect of public business ; a neglect which left the country in a state of chaos. Its condition at this date was beset by danger and difficulties ; for the colonies had become restless and rebellious ; the secret designs of Russia on India were looked on with suspicion and fear ; Ireland was clamouring for an equality of rights with England ; while the Chartist agitation stirred the midland counties into riots that found a climax in the insurrection in Monmouthshire. The ministry which was called upon to direct the troubled conditions of domestic, foreign, and colonial policy was weak and disunited ; and seeing its own infirmities was not unwilling to resign.

An opportunity for doing so was given it when (Monday, May 7, 1839) in support of an important motion regarding the Jamaica Bill, the Government was able to secure a mere majority of five in a House numbering five hundred and eighty-three members. On the following day a Cabinet meeting was held when its resignation was decided on. The Queen who had

been unprepared for this sudden action was completely upset by it. Charles Greville mentions in his diary that her agitation and grief were great ; and that in her interview with Lord John Russell, Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons, " she was all the time dissolved in tears ; and she dined in her own room, and never appeared on Tuesday evening." In his interview with Her Majesty, Melbourne advised her to send for the Duke of Wellington who had held office as Prime Minister years previously. When on the following morning the gallant old soldier waited on his Sovereign he at once told her that his age and his deafness incapacitated him from serving her as efficiently as he could desire ; and that the Leader of the House of Commons ought to be her Prime Minister. He therefore suggested that she should summon Sir Robert Peel and entrust him with the formation of a Cabinet. To her request that Wellington would send him to her, he replied that under the circumstances it would be best that she should write to him herself. That, she consented to do, but asked the Duke to announce to Peel that he might expect her letter.

At this time Sir Robert Peel was in his fifty-second year. Eldest son of the first baronet of his line, he was grandson of that Robert Peel who may be regarded as the founder of the Lancashire cotton trade, by which he acquired a fortune sufficiently large to leave

his eight children thirteen thousand pounds each. When a schoolboy at Harrow, Robert Peel had shown an eager industry that had violently contrasted with the dreaminess of his fellow pupil Lord Byron. At Christ Church, Oxford, he had won a double first class in classics and mathematics ; at the age of twenty-one he had entered Parliament and made a remarkable maiden speech ; while at the age of four and twenty he had been appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland which office he held for six years under three viceroys. When in Ireland he had established a body of men to preserve the public peace, who were generally known as "Peelers," and that later he consolidated into the Royal Irish Constabulary. While Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons under the Wellington Ministry, he had on March 5, 1829, in a powerful speech that lasted over four hours, introduced his bill for Catholic Emancipation ; a measure he had uncompromisingly opposed for the previous twenty years of his political life. The Bill passed on the 13th of the following month. Later in the same year he organised the Metropolitan Police Force, members of which were called "Bobbies," or as in Ireland, "Peelers." On the dismissal by William IV., December 1834, of the Melbourne ministry, Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister, an office he held but four months.

Not only because of his experiences as a minister, but because of his personal qualities as a man of iron

will, of marvellous memory, of strong physique, and with an aptitude for business that frequently led him to spend sixteen consecutive hours at work, he was at the moment Her Majesty summoned him, fitted above all other of her subjects to cope with the disturbances that threatened the realm. In person, according to the graphic portrait given of him by Carlyle, he was "a clever-looking man, large substantial head, Roman nose, massive cheeks with a twinkle half smile half sorrow in them, considerable trunk and stomach, sufficient, stubborn-looking short legs, altogether an honest figure of a man" clad in "a dark-coloured surtout and cotton trowsers of blue-striped jean." From his face the hardness of which was accentuated by the squareness of its chin and the steely glint of its blue eyes, it was readily seen that he held his emotions in an iron grip. His manner had that cold ungraciousness so frequently associated with the northern race, and lacked the gentle bearing appreciated by women. That he should seek to win their regard by the exercise of small graces appeared improbable; that he would yield to or conciliate them seemed impossible. In this respect the difference between him and Melbourne was immeasurable; a difference the Queen was quick to perceive.

But though she felt no sympathy with Sir Robert Peel, and disliked his manner, she received him graciously and commissioned him to form a new

administration. At the same time she expressed with perfect frankness her regret at being obliged to part with her late ministers, with whom she had been quite satisfied, and especially with Lord Melbourne who had acted a part almost paternal towards her. It must not be expected, she added, that she must give up his society. To this Peel replied that nothing was further from his thoughts than to interfere in any way with Her Majesty's private circle, or to object to her receiving Lord Melbourne as she pleased. He felt perfectly sure the late Premier would not avail himself of Her Majesty's friendship to advocate the interests of his party. Satisfied with that the Queen expressed a wish that her old friend Lord Liverpool, whose guest she had been in her girlhood, should have some post in attendance on her, when Peel suggested that he should be made Lord Steward. But when, believing it advisable that the female relatives of the Whig ministers should not be allowed to retain their places in the Household, he hinted at their removal, the Queen stopped him at once and declared she would not part with any of them.

Surprised by this decision Peel begged that she would consult the Duke of Wellington on the point, when she agreed to see them both on the following day. As was subsequently seen, a misunderstanding which a few words might have removed, rose between the Queen and her Prime Minister. His intention

had been, not to make a complete clearance of her ladies, but to remove from among them those connected with the more violent Whigs. As he later explained, he was unwilling that the nation should have "the spectacle of a Court entirely hostile to him, consisting of ladies whose husbands were his strongest political opponents, thereby creating an impression that the confidence of the Crown was bestowed on his enemies rather than on himself." On the other hand, the Queen believed he intended to remove from her, all those who may be said to have been her first friends, to whom she had become warmly attached. She was therefore firm and immovable in her determination to retain them, when the Duke of Wellington and Peel saw her, that being the case the latter told her he must consult his colleagues before further steps were taken in the formation of a Cabinet.

That evening the strange spectacle might be witnessed of two Cabinet meetings ; that of the Whigs and of the Tories ; Peel consulting his friends at his house, at the same hour that Melbourne at his house laid before the late ministers a letter he had received from the Sovereign. In reference to her audience with Wellington and Peel, Her Majesty said : "Do not fear that I was not calm and composed. They wanted to deprive me of my Ladies, and I suppose they would deprive me next of my dressers and my housemaids ; they wished to treat me like a girl, but I will show

them that I am Queen of England." Though those who heard it read differed in opinion as to whether Her Majesty should be advised to accept or to resist Peel's decision, a letter was ultimately drafted which the Queen copied and sent to him—dated from Buckingham Palace, May 10, 1839—that stated: "The Queen having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." On receiving this Peel immediately resigned his commission into Her Majesty's hands, when the Whig Government having reconstructed its Cabinet in the hope of strengthening it, returned to power. In explaining why he resumed office Melbourne stated frankly and unequivocally, that he did so because "I will not abandon my Sovereign in a situation of difficulty and distress, and especially when a demand is made upon Her Majesty, with which I think she ought not to comply, a demand in my opinion inconsistent with her personal honour, and which if acquiesced in would make her reign liable to all the changes and variations of political parties, and render her domestic life one constant scene of unhappiness and discomfort." Nothing could surpass the excitement and amazement caused by this occurrence, and the bitterest recriminations passed between the opposing parties in which the Sovereign's

name was freely used, and in many cases with a want of chivalry and loyalty that caused her bitter pain.

Both incidents seemed to suggest to the Queen the need in her youth and inexperience, of a husband on whose strength and wisdom in what personally concerned her, she could rely. But her selection of a Consort was not yet fixed by herself, though it had been for many years by her uncle. In March 1838, when Prince Albert visited the Belgian Court, King Leopold spoke to him at length of the prospects of his marriage with the English Sovereign, and stated her wishes for delaying her nuptials. To this Prince Albert said he was ready to submit, adding : " But if after waiting perhaps for three years, I should find that the Queen no longer desired the marriage, it would place me in a very ridiculous position, and ruin all the prospects of my future life." In December of the same year, accompanied by Stockmar and Captain Seymour, he travelled through Italy to complete his education, and to prepare himself for the high position he might be called upon to fill.

During the tour Stockmar observed him critically and came to the conclusion that the Prince had an intellectual quickness and adroitness, a desire to appear amiable and good-natured, and a talent for fulfilling that desire. That he looked on men and things from a comical point of view ; that he seldom occupied himself long with the same subject ; and though

entertaining many intentions seldom carried them into practice; that he failed to show the least possible interest in political affairs, and could seldom be induced to read a paper; "that in the matter of *les belles manières* there is much to desire." It was also his opinion that the Prince "will always have more success with men than with women," as he was "too little *impressé* with the latter; too indifferent, too reserved." It was noticed by the Baron that Prince Albert's constitution was far from strong, and that he was always fatigued after exertion, which he carefully avoided.

On his return from Italy his uncle decided that Prince Albert should visit England and learn his fate. On the Queen agreeing to this, Prince Albert and his brother Prince Ernest, attended by their father's Master of the Horse, Baron Alvensleben, left Brussels on October 8, 1839, for England. The steamer which conveyed them was in some danger on the Scheldt, when a boat named the *Princess Victoria* came to their assistance, which was regarded as a good omen by these youths. They reached Windsor Castle on Thursday evening, and were received at the top of the great staircase by the Queen, who took them at once to their aunt, the Duchess of Kent. As by some mischance their luggage had not arrived, it was considered they could not appear at dinner with Her Majesty's other guests; among whom were Lord



From an engraving, after a drawing by Mlle. de Noireterre.

PRINCE ERNEST OF SAXE-COBURG.

Melbourne, Lord and Lady Granville, Lord Clanricarde, Lord Normanby, and Baron Brunnov. The way of life followed at the Castle was, that the Queen breakfasted in her own room, and then attended to business with her Prime Minister. At two o'clock she lunched in company with her mother and her cousins, and soon after that meal rode out with her guests and the members of her household, a large cavalcade in all. In the evening she dined with them, and three times a week there was a dance, an exercise of which she was extremely fond.

On coming to England Prince Albert, according to Lieutenant-General Grey's *Early Life of the Prince-Consort*, had intended to tell the Queen "that if she could not then make up her mind, she must understand that he could not now wait for a decision, as he had done at a former period when this marriage was first talked about." But he had no necessity to make this statement. Though previously he had shown little interest in women's society, devotion to them being as Her Majesty states in the book just mentioned, "an occupation he particularly disliked," yet he was now continually with his cousin, enjoying confidential talks, dancing, singing, riding, and walking with her. As a result the Queen fell quickly in love with the Prince who was tall and well made, with regular features, clear blue eyes, and an expression of intelligence and benevolence that favourably impressed

all who saw him. On the Monday following his arrival at Windsor she had decided to marry him, and on her telling Melbourne the news had the satisfaction of hearing him say : "I think it will be very well received ; for I hear that there is an anxiety now that it should be, and I am very glad of it. You will be much more comfortable ; for a woman cannot stand alone for any time in whatever position she may be." Baron Alvensleben was then commanded to inform Prince Albert that the Queen would speak to him next day.

In the forenoon of the following day he was summoned to her presence when she "did a very nervous thing," as she afterwards told the Duchess of Gloucester, adding, "I proposed to Prince Albert ; he would never have presumed to take such a liberty." In writing of her engagement on the same date to her uncle Leopold she says that the warm affection the Prince showed her gave her great pleasure. "He seems perfection and I think that I have the prospect of very great happiness before me. I love him more than I can say, and shall do everything in my power to render this sacrifice (for such in my opinion it is) as small as I can. He seems to have very great tact, a very necessary thing in his position. These last few days have passed like a dream to me, and I am so much bewildered by it all that I know hardly how to write ; but I do feel very happy."

On his part the Prince was equally delighted, and in writing to Baron Stockmar to tell him "the most welcome news possible," declared also that he was bewildered, and that at times he was scarcely able to believe that such affection as his cousin's could be shown him. King Leopold heartily congratulated Her Majesty, and expressed his gratification. He had feared, he said, that his desire regarding this union would never be fulfilled, but now that it was, he felt like old Simeon and could say, "Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace."

As it would be expected that news of such importance as her forthcoming marriage should at once be communicated to Parliament—which she had no wish to assemble for the purpose before its meeting in the following January—her engagement was kept secret. Later it was found that "as Parliament has nothing whatever to say respecting the marriage—can neither approve nor disapprove it, in a manner which might affect it," it was decided that she should announce it to the Privy Council in November. The delightful secret was withheld for the present. Prince Albert and his brother remained at Windsor until October 14, when he went to Wiesbaden, where attended by Stockmar, King Leopold was drinking the waters. On his departure the Queen spoke of her engagement to those about her, and announced it by letter to various relatives; that addressed to

Queen Adelaide being "written in very kind and affectionate terms, and as full of love as Juliet." Leaving Windsor November 20, Her Majesty took up her residence at Buckingham Palace, where three days later a Council was held to which she read the announcement of her marriage drawn up by Melbourne. Extraordinary interest was felt in the occasion, and no less than eighty-three Privy Councillors were present. Scarcely had they assembled at two o'clock in a great room on the ground floor of the palace, when its folding doors were thrown open, and the Queen dressed in a plain morning gown and wearing a bracelet containing a miniature of Prince Albert to give her courage, came unattended and bowed to a crowd of men whose faces were eagerly turned to hers. As soon as they had seated themselves she read the declaration, says the Clerk of the Council, "in a clear, sonorous, sweet-toned voice, but her hands trembled so excessively that I wonder she was able to read the paper which she held." It was her intention, she stated, to ally herself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement she was about to contract, she had not come to this decision without mature consideration, nor without feeling a strong assurance that with the blessing of Almighty God, it will at once secure her domestic felicity and serve the interests of her

country. As President of the Council, Lord Lansdowne asked her permission to have the declaration made public, to which she bowed her consent, placed the declaration in his hands, and then retired.

The royal marriage was fixed to take place on the 10th of the following February. A subject of deepest interest and importance to the nation, it was discussed in all circles and made a matter of bitter contention between Whigs and Tories. While the Sovereign's choice of a Consort was yet undetermined, King Leopold on one of his visits to the English Court had canvassed Melbourne's opinion as to the suitability of Prince Albert for that position. Though regretting that the latter had no acquaintance with public business, civil or military, and that his youth and inexperience were not recommendations in his favour, yet the Prime Minister considered it best for the happiness and security of the Queen that she should marry her cousin, and trust that her influence would strengthen and form his character. The Secretary for Foreign affairs, Lord Palmerston, having commended Her Majesty's choice, as did the Whigs in general, was itself sufficient to rouse opposition to it by the Tories.

Though with the abhorrent fact before them that the King of Hanover was next in succession to the British throne, they in common with all her Majesty's subjects, were eager that she should marry without

delay. Yet they took objection to her choice who they declared was a Radical, an atheist, or a papist ; who by the machinations of his uncle and the deplorable influence of the Whigs over their royal victim, was being foisted into a position which should be held by Prince George of Cambridge, or the Prince of Orange. Of all those who were ready to defend the Sovereign's right to choose a husband, none was more exuberantly eloquent, more boisterously chivalrous than Daniel O'Connell, who had thrown in his fortunes with the Whigs. Earlier in the year when Sir Robert Peel had been commanded to form a ministry, O'Connell had stated that Her Majesty's life would not be safe if the Tories came into power ; and he "solemnly declared he was convinced she would not live six months if this event took place " ; for "he knew the Tory party were capable of every human baseness and ferocity." His paternal interest in her was not less evident in a speech worth quoting for its humour delivered December 5 at Bandon, and reported in the *Annual Register* in which he said : "We must be, we are loyal to our young and lovely Queen, God bless her. We must be, we are attached to the throne and to the lovely being by whom it is filled. She is going to be married. I wish she may have as many children as my grandmother had—two and twenty. (Immense cheering and laughter.) God bless the Queen. I am a father and a grandfather ;

and in the face of heaven I pray with as much fervency and honesty for Queen Victoria as I do for any one of my own progeny. The moment I heard of the daring and audacious menaces of the Tories towards the Sovereign, I promulgated through the Press my feelings of detestation and determination on the matter. Oh, if I be not greatly mistaken I'd get in one day five hundred thousand brave Irishmen to defend the life, the honour, and the person of the beloved young lady by whom England's throne is now filled. Let every man in the vast and multitudinous assembly stretched out before me who is loyal to the Queen and would defend her to the last, lift up his right hand. (The entire gathering responded to the appeal.) There are hearts in those hands. I tell you that if necessity required, there would be swords in them."

Five hundred thousand Irishmen were not called upon to defend the honour and life of the Queen, but all the tact and endurance of her ministers were called upon to combat their opponents when the Prince's income and position came to be settled. On January 16, 1840, Parliament was opened in state by the Queen who "was more loudly cheered than she had been for some time," as she noted in her Journal. In a few sentences she read the announcement of her engagement, which made no reference to Prince Albert's religion. This omission was by the fanatical construed into a Jesuitical attempt to hide the faith he was darkly

suspected of holding. Already a rumour had spread, described by Melbourne to the Queen as a "stupid attempt to make it out that the Prince was a Roman Catholic." The sole conceivable reason for this surmise was that members of his family had either from conviction or convenience found it convenient to change their religion ; or to ally themselves with those whose faith differed from their own. His aunt Julienne had abjured Lutheranism that she might be received into the Greek Church ; his uncle Prince Ferdinand George of Saxe-Coburg had married the Catholic Princess Kohary of Hungary ; the eldest son of that union had become the consort of Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, and had embraced Catholicism ; a second son of the same marriage had wedded the third daughter of Louis Philippe ; while a daughter of Prince Ferdinand George had become the wife of the Duc de Nemours, the French King's second son. Above all King Leopold had not only espoused Louis Philippe's eldest daughter, but had given it as his opinion "that it was of great importance that the children of such a marriage should be Catholics ; as it will be a future link with the people which is devoted to its religion."

The doubt regarding Prince Albert's faith was sufficient to induce the Duke of Wellington to give what Charles Greville calls "a sop to the silly." In the debate following the address to the throne, his Grace referring to the grave concern that had been

roused regarding the subject, said he thought that if the House of Lords was "called upon to do any act or make any declaration beyond the mere congratulation to the Queen, they should take that course which should give Her Majesty's subjects the satisfaction of knowing that Prince Albert was a Protestant ; thus showing the public that this was still a Protestant State." He therefore moved that the word Protestant should be inserted in the address before the word Prince.

Lord Melbourne replied that the Duke and all the world knew that Prince Albert was a Protestant, and he considered the proposed amendment altogether superfluous. The Act of Settlement required that he should be a Protestant, and it was not likely that Her Majesty's ministers would advise her to break through it. To this Lord Brougham said that his noble friend was mistaken as to the law. "There is no prohibition as to marriage with a Catholic. It is only attended with a penalty ; and that penalty is merely the forfeiture of the crown." The Duke of Wellington's amendment was agreed to ; but evidently this did not sufficiently soothe the public mind for a few days later the Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston, wrote in haste to ask Baron Stockmar—who in January had once more come to England as the Prince's Plenipotentiary—if he could tell him "whether Prince Albert belongs to any Protestant sect the tenets of which could prevent him from partaking of the Lord's Supper according to the

rites of the Church of England ? ” The reply was that the Prince did not belong to any sect, and that there was no material difference between the Communion Service of the German and the English Protestant Church, when the subject was allowed to drop.

In the generous impulse of her affection the Queen desired that the Prince should be made King-Consort ; but Melbourne assured her the suggestion could not be considered. The subject of her future husband's household then absorbed her, precedent for which was searched when, as Her Majesty wrote, “ unfortunately the one commonly referred to was that of Prince George of Denmark the very stupid and insignificant husband of Queen Anne,” who had played a trifling part, such as Queen Victoria did not desire her Consort to repeat. For one thing it was her wish that he should take precedence after herself of the princes and princesses of the blood royal. On being sounded on the point the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge who were expecting an addition to their incomes agreed to the proposal, but the King of Hanover not only stoutly refused his, but induced the Duke of Cambridge to withdraw his consent to it, and wrote to the Duke of Wellington as head of the Conservatives in the House of Lords, to protest against such a proceeding in his name.

As the Queen felt strongly on the subject it was brought before Parliament, but was included in a Bill

for the naturalising of the Prince. This passed the Commons without opposition, but on its being read for the second time in the Lords January 27, 1840, the Duke of Wellington objected that it was not merely an Act for the naturalisation of Prince Albert, but contained a clause entitling him "for and during the term of his natural life to take precedence in rank after Her Majesty in Parliament and elsewhere as Her Majesty may think fit and proper, any law, statute, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding"; and that as the House had not sufficient notice of the Bill he moved that the debate on it be adjourned. To this Melbourne agreed.

From the speeches of the Tory peers it was seen they were determined to oppose the Sovereign's wishes. They would grant precedence to her Consort, not only after the members of the family of George III., but after the children she might bear. This position she naturally regarded as intolerable. Cabinet meetings were held, the Queen was consulted, and eventually in the hope of conciliating opposition it was conceded that Prince Albert should have precedence next after any heir-apparent to the throne, and take precedence of other members of the royal family only during the life of the Queen. This it was hoped would satisfy the Tory party. That the matter might be settled amicably, and so spare Her Majesty the mortification of having it discussed in the Lords, Melbourne went to Apsley

House to talk the matter over. The Duke of Wellington was averse to granting the Prince the privilege claimed for him ; because his Grace considered " the honour and the interests of the Crown, in preference to the personal inclination of the sovereign." " Melbourne found him," says Greville, " with one of his very stiffest crotchets in his head, determined only to give the Prince precedence after the royal family ; and all he could get from him was that it would be unjust to do more. All argument was unavailing and he left him without having been able to make any impression on him, or to move him by a representation of the Queen's feelings, to make concessions to meet those the Government were prepared to make. This however they would not consent to ; and so determined were they to carry their point, that they made a grand whip up and brought Lord Clare all the way from Grims-thorpe to vote upon it."

As a result the Government resolved to withdraw the precedence clause from the Naturalisation Bill, which was then passed ; leaving the Prince's position unfixed by Parliament. It was not settled until after his marriage, when Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, having looked into the authorities and the ancient practices regarding royal consorts, concluded that the Queen had power to give her husband precedence everywhere but in Parliament and in Council. On his submitting this opinion to the Lord Chancellor

and the Duke of Wellington, they agreed that her Majesty had such authority. When this was communicated to her by Melbourne she said, "Why do this and say this now when they might so easily and so much better have settled it by Parliament before?" She lost no time in giving the Prince the position she considered his right, and March 5, 1840, letters patent were issued giving him precedence next to herself.

At the time when the Prince's position was before Parliament, his proposed income was also being considered. On January 24 Lord John Russell stated to the House of Commons that it was the intention of the Government to allow the Prince an annuity of fifty thousand a year. This amount had been enjoyed by previous royal consorts; by Queen Caroline wife of George II.; by Queen Charlotte wife of George III.; by Queen Adelaide wife of William IV.; and that also had been given to Prince Leopold as husband of the heiress-presumptive to the throne, the Princess Charlotte. To this an amendment reducing the proposed allowance to twenty-one thousand a year was moved by a Radical member, Hume, which was negatived by a majority of two hundred and sixty-seven; but when Colonel Sibthorpe moved an amendment to reduce the allowance to thirty thousand a year, it was carried by a majority of one hundred and four. Colonel Sibthorpe's success then led him to propose that a clause be inserted in the Bill for the

Prince's annuity, stating that in case he survived the Queen his allowance should be forfeited, if he failed to reside for a period of less than six consecutive months in each year, in the United Kingdom ; or if he married with any foreign princess who did not profess the Protestant religion as by law established in these realms. As the House was against him, Colonel Sibthorpe did not press his motion to a division. The debates on the Prince's income lasted several days during which party spirit ran high, the cause of Sir Robert Peel's failure to place the Tories in power being remembered by them ; but instead of the Government, who knew that their defeat on this point was inevitable, coming to a private understanding with the Opposition which might have spared Her Majesty the mortification she acutely felt, it was pressed doggedly forward ; Lord John Russell, during one of the debates, losing his temper and " flinging dirt at Peel like a sulky boy flinging rotten eggs " as Greville says.

The Queen was indignant at the manner in which the Prince's precedence and income had been treated fearing he might attribute it to hostility towards himself, and for a time was extremely cool in her manner towards the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel ; the King of the Belgians took umbrage with those who professing to " uphold the dignity of the Crown treated their Sovereign in such a manner " ; but Prince Albert whom it seriously con-

cerned, with the insight and equanimity that were characteristic of him, understood that these questions were used as weapons in political strife, rather than as intimations of dislike to himself or disloyalty to the Queen. In his future relations with the leaders of the Opposition, he never allowed his feelings to be influenced by remembrance of their words or acts.

The royal marriage was fixed to take place February 10, 1840. On the 14th of the previous month, Lord Torrington and Colonel Grey were sent to Coburg to escort the Prince to England. At the same time they carried with them the insignia of the Garter, with which he was to be invested by his father the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. According to arrangement Prince Albert arrived at Buckingham Palace, on Saturday afternoon February 8, 1840. He was met at the grand entrance by the Queen, the Duchess of Kent, and the royal household ; and a few minutes later had the oaths of naturalisation administered to him by the Lord Chancellor. In the evening a banquet was given at the palace which was attended by all the officers of State. On the following day the Prince presented his bride with his wedding gift, a sapphire and diamond brooch, while she gave him the star and badge of the Garter, and the Garter itself set in diamonds.

The marriage service was celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chapel royal St. James,

at one o'clock on February 10. The Prince who looked extremely handsome wore the uniform of an English Field-Marshal, and the Collar of the Order of the Garter. The Queen was simply dressed in white satin with a wreath of orange-blossom over which was a veil of Honiton lace. Her ornaments were a diamond necklace and earrings with the brooch given her by the bridegroom. The nervousness she must have felt on the occasion was shown only by the unusual paleness of her complexion, for her voice in giving the usual affirmations was so calm and clear that it could be heard in every part of the building ; and she was sufficiently composed in walking down the aisle with her husband's hand clasping hers, to give directions as to the order of the procession to the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Uxbridge who walked by her side. As they returned to Buckingham Palace the royal pair were greeted with the warmest enthusiasm by a public whose sentiment was appealed to by a marriage that was not an arrangement of State, but was one of genuine affection.

On reaching the palace in front of which an immense crowd had gathered, the Queen was handed from the carriage by the Prince. Taking his arm they went up the grand staircase followed by a cloud of radiant bridesmaids, by relatives, by the officers of the household, and ministers of state. Murmurs of congratulation and joyous greetings rang in their ears.

Then came the wedding breakfast when a monster bridecake measuring three yards in circumference and described in newspaper language as an "elegant emblem of the felicities of marriage," was cut by the bridegroom. The breakfast was not finished until near four o'clock, when the Queen dressed "in a white satin pelisse trimmed with swan's down, with a white satin bonnet and feathers," drove away with her husband to spend the honeymoon at Windsor. Up to then the day had been wet and gloomy but just before the royal pair started the sun shone brilliantly. They were accompanied not only by the four carriages containing their suite, but by a number of gigs and vehicles of various kinds that formed a voluntary escort. The whole way from London to Windsor may be said to have been lined with crowds anxious to get a glimpse of the young bride and bridegroom, whom they heartily cheered; and so dense were the throngs in some of the villages, and so difficult was it for the royal carriage to pass through them, that the occupants did not arrive until near eight at Windsor. The streets of the royal borough were brilliantly illuminated, so that long before they reached it they caught sight of a yellow glow flaming its welcome through the February gloom. From this time began that happy married life whose sunshine was to know no cloud for twenty years.

CHAPTER III

Members of Her Majesty's family yet living—The King of Hanover—The Duke of Sussex—The romance of his early days—Marriage with Lady Augusta Murray—Her correspondence—The King annuls the marriage—Lady Cecilia Buggin made Duchess of Inverness—The world would hear more of her before long—Painting her portrait—A kindly gentleman—The Duke of Cambridge an accomplished musician and student of science—Prince George at White's—The Queen's aunts—The Prince depressed—Melbourne wishes him to become acquainted with affairs of State—His wide-mindedness and impartiality—Gains the confidence of the ministers—The Duchess of Kent leaves Buckingham Palace—How Her Majesty spent the early days of her reign—First attempt on her life—Edward Oxford's desire for notoriety—The Queen becomes a mother—The Princess Royal—The Queen's love of the Whigs—Result of the election—Melbourne works to reconcile her mind—His testimony to the Prince—The Queen receives Sir Robert Peel graciously—Parting with the old ministers—Melbourne's advice—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Crowds round Buckingham Palace—An astrologer's prediction—Royal sponsors—Frederick William IV. of Prussia—Entertainment at Windsor—Second attempt on the life of the Queen—Her Majesty's bravery—A little swarthy ill-looking fellow—A third attempt by a hunch-back—Act of Parliament providing for the security and protection of Her Majesty.

CHAPTER III

WHEN the young Queen succeeded to the throne several members of her father's family were still living, who were prominent figures at Her Court and of whom mention must be made here. Foremost among them in point of rank and in the absence of his elder brother now reigning in Hanover, was Augustus Frederick Duke of Sussex, born January 27, 1773, sixth son and ninth child of George III., and uncle of Her Majesty. Being delicate as a child he was in his early years sent abroad in the hope that his constitution might be strengthened, and did not permanently reside in England until he was past thirty. Educated at the University of Göttingen, he afterwards travelled in Italy where he acquired a love of painting, music, and literature, as well as liberal ideas. The first chapter in the romance of his life began when he was in his twentieth year, and while he was living in Rome.

Tall and well built, the Prince was even at this time inclined to stoutness, with a florid complexion, prominent blue eyes, and hair "too scientifically and

studiously dressed to be very becoming." His conversation was fluent, his vanity undisguised, his manner courteous and winning: while his amusements were somewhat curtailed by an income that never exceeded a guinea a week. To one woman he seemed a perfect man, while she appeared to him an ideal woman. This was the Lady Augusta Murray, second daughter of the fourth Earl of Dunmore, who shared with him a common descent from James II., of Scotland, from Edward IV., of England, and from the princely house of D'Est in Italy. In the winter of 1792, Lady Dunmore—in the absence of her husband then acting as Governor of Canada—resided in Rome with her two daughters Lady Virginia and Lady Augusta. The latter then in her twenty-sixth year was a remarkably handsome brunette, with a graceful figure and a stately air. Educated in many Continental capitals she was more accomplished and better educated than most women of her time. From their first meeting the Prince was attracted by her, but it was not until some four months of constant association that he determined to marry her. As he foresaw that Lady Dunmore would not consent to the union, he begged that Lady Augusta would wed him secretly. "The candour and generosity my wife showed on this occasion," wrote the Prince, "by refusing the proposal and showing me the personal disadvantages I should draw on myself, instead of checking my endeavours served



From a photograph by Emery Walker, after the picture in the National Portrait Gallery by Guy Head.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX, K.G.

only to add new fuel to a passion which already no earthly power could make me resign."

In vain she pointed out to him the trouble that must follow such a union which would be considered illegal, in accordance with the Royal Marriage Act of 1772, that made the marriage of any descendant of George III. under the age of five and twenty null and void unless it received the sanction of the Sovereign. The Prince still persisted in urging his suit, and in his burning ardour wrote out a declaration which said, "On my knees before God our Creator, I, Augustus Frederick promise thee Augusta Murray, and swear upon the Bible as I hope for salvation in the world to come, that I will take thee Augusta Murray for my wife, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part ; to love but thee only and none other ; and may God forget me if I forget thee. The Lord's name be praised. So bless me ; so bless me O God. And with my handwriting do I, Augustus Frederick this sign, March 21, 1793, at Rome, and put my seal to it and my name." At his desire she signed a similar declaration of which he kept possession. Before this month ended, the Prince asked a chaplain of the Church of England named Gunn, residing in Rome to perform the marriage ceremony, but he declined fearing the consequences to himself that might follow, on which Augustus Frederick, referring to the document he had

written declared to the parson that his honour was involved in the matter.

On hearing of this Lady Augusta feared that a wrong construction should be placed on the word. "As for honour" she wrote to the Prince, "with the meaning Mr. Gunn will annex to it, I am ashamed to fancy it, he will imagine I have been your mistress, and that humanity commonly termed honour, now induces you to pity me, and so veil my follies by an honourable marriage. My own beloved Prince forgive me if I am warm upon this subject. I wish you to feel you owe me nothing; and whatever I owe you I wish to owe to your love and to your good opinion but to no other principle. Tell Mr. Gunn my own Augustus, that you love me, that you are resolved to marry me, that you have pledged a sacred word; tell him if you please that upon the Bible you have sworn it, that I have done the same, and that nothing shall ever divide us; but don't let him imagine that I have been vile. Do this my only love; but pray take care of the character of your wife, of your Augusta."

Eventually the chaplain consented to marry the lovers secretly, but still Lady Augusta hesitated. Determined to gain his desire or die, the Prince threatened to starve himself if she would not become his wife. "More than forty-eight hours have I passed without the smallest nourishment," he wrote to

her, April 4, 1793. "Oh, let me not live so. Death is certainly better than this ; which if in forty-eight hours it has not taken place must certainly follow ; for by all that is holy, till when I am married I will eat nothing. I am resolute. Nothing in the world shall alter my determination. I will be conducted in everything by you, but I must be married or die. I would rather see none of my family than be deprived of you. I will sooner drop than give you up. Good God how I feel, and my love to be doubted sincere and warm. The Lord knows the truth of it ; and as I say if in forty-eight hours I am not married, I am no more. I am half-dead. Good God what will become of me ? I shall go mad undoubtedly." Lady Augusta was not a woman who could resist this appeal from "her treasure, her dearest life, her love," and on the evening of the day on which the letter just quoted was written, they were married by Mr. Gunn, the service being so secretly conducted that neither the bride's mother nor sister knew of it until some months later. By that time Lady Dunmore and her daughters had returned to their London residence in Lower Berkeley Street, the Prince following in their wake.

From the first he had defied the Royal Marriage Act, but now fearing lest a union between British subjects which had taken place in a foreign country might be considered illegal, he determined to have the ceremony repeated in England that there might

be no doubt about the legitimacy of the child to whom his wife was about to give birth. As no clergyman would knowingly marry a member of the English royal family without the consent of the King, some difficulty was feared about it, but this was overcome in the simplest manner. Banns of marriage were published in St. George's Church Hanover Square, between Augustus Frederick, and Augusta Murray, after which December 5, 1793, the individuals represented by these names were married without exciting the slightest suspicion regarding their identity. The Prince then travelled abroad while Lady Augusta went to her father's country house where, January 13, 1794, she gave birth to a son afterwards known as Sir Augustus D'Est. Before this latter event had taken place, the secret of the royal marriage had become common property. Though the King expressed neither anger nor surprise at hearing of it, he ordered that a suit for the nullity of the marriage should be issued, according to which it was declared void. On hearing of this the absent husband expressed his indignation, and declared that the suit had been conducted with great inhumanity. Ignoring its decision he continued to live with his wife on his return and became the father of her second child, Ellen Augusta, born August 11, 1801, who married Sir Thomas Wilde, afterwards first Baron Truro and Lord Chancellor of England.

In the same year that his second child was born, Augustus Frederick was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Arklow, Earl of Inverness, and Duke of Sussex. From the same time his marital ardour gradually subsided. For those who love happy endings to romance it will be sad to read that the man who was determined to win his bride or die, was unwilling to pay her the four thousand a year which he had settled upon her for her support and the education of her children, for which she was obliged to apply to the Court of Chancery in 1804. It is sadder still to know that in 1809, he applied to have her children taken from her and placed under the guardianship of Lord Moira, on the ground that she was bringing them up to consider themselves respectively as a Prince and a Princess. The estrangement of husband and wife continued until her death, February 28, 1830; the Duke having meantime formed an attachment for Lady Cecilia, ninth daughter of the Earl of Arran, and the unaffected widow of Sir George Buggin, Knight, whose hateful name she dropped at his death to assume that of her mother, Underwood. For Lady Cecilia a woman of ardent temperament and ample proportions the Duke entertained that uncritical admiration which is the privilege of age. "The world will hear more of her before long," he confidently predicted to his friends. Marrying her privately he made no secret of their relations,

for he drove about town and paid calls accompanied by her, and placed her at the head of his dining-table, where she sat—as her friend Thomas Crevy described her—“with such a profusion of gold *bijouterie* in all parts that nothing was wanting but something hanging from her nose.” Not satisfied with avowing her position in this way, he claimed for her the honour of being officially acknowledged as his wife; but his wishes were unheeded until he found opportunity of urging them effectively; when on the question of Prince Albert’s precedency being considered he agreed not to oppose the Queen’s wishes—in giving her Consort place before her uncles—on condition that Lady Cecilia Underwood, as she was called, should be raised to the peerage. This was done April 1, 1840, when the *London Gazette* announced that Lady Cecilia Buggin had been created Duchess of Inverness.

The union was happy for the Duke not only admired his enterprising wife, but she was affectionate and attentive to him, as we learn from various testimonies, among them those given by Solomon Hart, R.A., in his privately printed *Memoirs*. In these interesting glimpses are given of His Royal Highness whom the Academician was commissioned to paint. Sittings were held at Kensington Palace in a big room with high ceiling, long narrow windows, great book-cases, and a William-and-Mary chimney-piece, all of which formed accessories to the picture. In

manner the Duke was friendly and pleasant. "You must forget that I am the Queen's uncle," he said adjusting his black velvet skull-cap, "and you must treat me as an ordinary person." Then in a garrulous way he described the early struggles of the man who was painting him ; and on the latter expressing surprise that such knowledge had come to the Prince, he was told that the members of the royal family had a habit of acquiring and retaining information about all sorts of people. "During the sitting," says Solomon Hart, "his large fat hand grasped a large and massive pipe. It often went out during the intervals of conversation, when he would say, 'My pipe is gone out, Mr. Hart, come and give me a light.' This was more easily said than done, for he kept his hand on a level with the orifice of the pipe and I feared that I might burn him. He would smile and apologise for interrupting me."

Painting this portrait was indeed "a very trying job," as the artist expressed it ; for the work may be said to have been done in public ; the Duke always having a string of visitors who were interested in its progress and were willing to give their unsolicited opinion regarding it. Among these were the Duke's daughter Mademoiselle D'Este ; the Duke of Cambridge who knew nothing of painting on which he so readily spoke as when the door had closed upon him his brother explained ; and the Duchess of Inverness who

told the painter "she thought I had a difficult subject to treat in a corpulent man, but that I had avoided coarseness and had made him look like a gentleman." This appreciation had its balance when in the middle of a sitting she would enter the room and invite her husband to a game of billiards, which she said was good for his health; or when at other times she insisted on taking him for a drive. Occasionally Solomon Hart met with more aggravating treatment than this; for having walked from his house in Gower Street to Kensington Palace, set up his palette there and prepared for work, he would have to wait a couple of hours, or perhaps be dismissed for the day. It was no wonder that a sympathising brother Academician, Sir Augustus Callcott said to him that no greater misfortune could happen to an artist than to be charged with such a commission. As compensation for the time spent and the difficulties encountered in painting this portrait, the Academician received fifty guineas, but not for some time after it was finished, and indeed not until after the Duke's death.

In his later years His Royal Highness appeared to Thomas Raikes "a stout coarse-looking man of free habit, plethoric, and subject to asthma." In the apartments allotted to him at Kensington Palace he had collected a valuable library numbering some fifty thousand books and pamphlets which included over a

thousand editions of the Bible and fifteen thousand theological works; the study of Hebrew and of biblical subjects being a passion second only to his love of tobacco. Always liberal in his views he had supported every progressive policy of his time; and in the House of Lords had enthusiastically advocated the abolition of slavery, Catholic emancipation, repeal of the corn laws, and the removal of the civil disabilities of Jews and Dissenters. Naturally benevolent, and interested in literature and science, he was ever ready to take the chair at dinners or meetings of philanthropic or learned societies. On such occasions the fluency which he shared with all the members of his family found full scope. Never was he so happy as when acting as President of the Royal Society, he welcomed to his receptions at Kensington Palace the most distinguished scientific and literary men of the day, who while honoured were also darkly suspected by him, for on such occasions a servant was stationed in every room whose duty it was to see that no books were stolen.

Next to the Duke of Sussex in rank came his younger brother Adolphus Frederick, Baron of Culloden, Earl of Tipperary, and Duke of Cambridge, the seventh son and tenth child of George III. Educated at Göttingen, made a colonel in the Hanoverian army, and appointed Viceroy of Hanover—an office he held until the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to

the crown in 1837—he had been absent from England during the greater part of his early life. His tall well-built figure, his regular features and fair complexion, led him to be considered a handsome man ; while his manners were frank and winning. He was also an accomplished musician, a lover of art, and a student of science. Better still he was extremely benevolent, and on settling at the beginning of Her Majesty's reign at Cambridge House, Piccadilly, now the Naval and Military Club, and at Cambridge Cottage in the village of Kew, he became a prominent supporter of public charities, and an active patron of hospitals and beneficent institutions. He had married, May 7, 1818, when in his thirty-fifth year the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa third daughter of Duke Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by whom he had a son George, and two daughters the Princess Augusta Caroline, and the Princess Mary Adelaide.

Prince George afterwards Duke of Cambridge, was born at Hanover March 26, 1819, and was the senior by three months of his cousin the Princess Victoria. He remained with his parents at Hanover until his eleventh year when he was sent to this country that he might receive an English education. Living at the Court of his uncle William IV., who had just come to the throne, this frank affectionate lad was regarded as a son by the childless King and Queen, whose dull lives he brightened by his dawning in-

telligence and boyish pranks. He also made friends with the Princess Victoria when opportunities were given him, but these were few as her time was always filled by an interminable round of lessons. In the year before her accession when he was in his eighteenth year, he was appointed a colonel of the Guard Jager Regiment in the Hanoverian army, and remained in the country of his birth until the death of the Sailor King, whose funeral he came over to attend. As his father then settled in England, Prince George left the Hanoverian to join the British army as a brevet colonel. Handsome, sprightly, and popular, the public considered him in every way the most suitable consort the young Queen could select, an opinion apparently not shared by those most concerned in the marriage. Nor did he show any jealousy towards Prince Albert whose wedding he attended, and whom he described as appearing "a very nice person in every respect."

The Prince was attached to the Twelfth Lancers, a matter of gratification to him second only to that of his being elected a member of White's Club. It was in the latter that Thomas Raikes first saw him. "When I was dining in the coffee-room at White's with Lord George Bentinck," says this man about town, "a good-looking young man came in and after conversing with him for a little while sate down to dinner between us. When he went away I asked

Lord George who he was ; he said Prince George of Cambridge. This is a very apropos instance of the change of manners in the present day ; for though Lord George certainly stood up to speak to him on his entrance, I saw no one else observe the least etiquette towards royalty." As the Prince's regiment was stationed in various parts of the country in the early years of the reign, he was seldom present at the Court festivities, though always affectionately remembered by the Queen.

At her Majesty's accession three of her aunts, daughters of George III., were living ; Elizabeth Princess of Hesse-Homburg who resided in Germany ; the Princess Augusta Sophia, an invalid and a spinster of seventy who dwelt in retirement chiefly at Frogmore, and occasionally at Clarence House St. James's ; and the Princess Mary, who had married her cousin William Frederick Duke of Gloucester, son of William Henry Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III. The Duchess of Gloucester who had been left a widow in 1834, was over sixty years old when the Queen came to the throne, and lived quietly at Gloucester House Park Lane. A woman of gentle manner and affectionate disposition she was greatly beloved by all the members of her family and worshipped by the poor, in helping whom the latter part of her life was entirely spent. Another member of the royal family was her sister-in-law, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, who

though a spinster and more mature in years had a far livelier temperament.

One and all of them—with the exception of the King of Hanover—had looked favourably on the Queen's choice, warmly congratulated the prince, and welcomed him to England. Though their friendship and appreciation were gratifying, it was counterbalanced by the sullen prejudice against him in the minds of the English public which might well have embittered a man of narrower mind or more resentful disposition. With that philosophic foresight which was one of his many gifts, he had before his marriage foreseen the difficulties that were inevitable to his position as Consort of the Queen ; difficulties which the debates in Parliament as to his religion, his income, and his precedence had made plain, and that were to be made plainer still by the distrust and dislike shown to him as a foreigner ; as such it was believed he must inevitably influence the councils of the Sovereign in favour of his Continental connections and to the prejudice of his adopted country.

On coming to England Prince Albert was aware of the scarcely suppressed hostility shown him by the people, educated or otherwise, but notwithstanding the happy circumstances of his marriage, was depressed at the severance from his own country, from a home where he had spent a simple happy boyhood, from a father, brother, and grandmother who warmly loved him.

All that wifely affection and ardent admiration could accomplish to make his position more acceptable, was done by the Queen. Her sympathy with his feelings in parting with the members of the suite who had accompanied him to England, and her desire to make his future happy may be judged from the passage in her Journal which runs : " He never cried, he said, in general, but Alvensleben and Kolowrath had cried so much he was quite overcome. Oh how I did feel for my dearest precious husband at this moment. Father, brother, friends, country, all has he left and all for me. God grant that I may be the happy person, the *most* happy person to make this dearest blessed being happy and contented. What is in my power to make him happy will I do." How little he desired to meddle in political affairs or to influence the Sovereign in public business, may be judged when it is stated that the Prince had the temperament of an artist rather than the talents of a statesman. It was only in an endeavour to help Her Majesty in the heavy cares of her position that he began to instruct himself in the condition of public affairs. This was done at the instigation of Melbourne. From the Prince's first coming to England, Melbourne desired that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the public administration and the working of the different departments of State. Melbourne had accordingly advised Her Majesty to show the Prince

everything connected with public matters, which she did, when he began to feel an interest in foreign affairs, and occasionally to write his carefully considered opinions on them, which he forwarded to Melbourne, who often acted in accordance with his views.

But for the first year or two the Prince—except on rare occasions and then by special invitation—was not present during the interviews which took place between the Sovereign and her ministers. It was only when having shown his interest in national institutions and associations, and spoken of them freely to Her Majesty's advisers, that he gradually gained their confidence and won from them an admission of his ability and discretion. He also secured not only from them but from politicians of all classes a high reputation for his straight-forwardness and impartiality. Far from feeling animosity to the Tories who had behaved unhandsomely to him, he treated them with friendliness, an example he induced the Queen to follow. Her Majesty's irritation against a party that had opposed her wishes in their tenderest point, had not been left unmarked; and though Melbourne had advised that a general amnesty should be shown to them and had bluntly told her, "You should now hold out the olive-branch a little," it was due to the Prince's example and counsel that she came to regard them more favourably.

As an expression of his impartiality, it was the
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Prince's desire that in the formation of his household, those appointments only should be permanent which were held by men entirely unconnected with politics ; while those filled by peers or members of Parliament should change with the changes of the Ministry. One exception had been made to this rule. For some time Melbourne and the Queen had been much exercised as to the most fitting person to hold the important post of private secretary to the Prince. Eventually the Prime Minister decided that a former confidential secretary of his own, George Anson, was the man above all others to fill the position. Though Prince Albert at first was disappointed at not being consulted in the selection, and feared it might indicate a preference on his part for the Tory party, Anson's discretion, tact, and capacity eventually led him to be spoken of by the Prince as "my only intimate friend" who was "like a brother to me."

In the early weeks of her married life a change took place in the Queen's domestic circle. This was caused by the departure from Buckingham Palace of the Duchess of Kent, who it was thought should have an establishment of her own. As she selected for this purpose the extensive suite of apartments in St. James's Palace formerly occupied by the Duke of Cumberland, who as King of Hanover could have no further use for them, a communication "in the most respectful manner" was made to His Majesty that the Queen



From an engraving, by Bacon, after a picture by Ross.

H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF KENT.

required these apartments and requested he should give them up. With this he flatly declined to comply. Though his rough refusal to give Her Majesty the rooms in her own palace which she desired to have, was considered an insult, yet her easy-going peace-loving Prime Minister advised her to submit to it ; which resulted in her being obliged to take Ingestre House, Belgrave Square, for which she paid a rental of two thousand a year. The Duchess of Kent lived here but for a few months, for in September (1840) the Princess Augusta, daughter of George III., died, when Clarence House, St. James's Palace, as well as Frogmore Lodge, Windsor, which she had occupied were given to the Duchess of Kent. The latter was much affected at parting for the first time in her life from the Queen, as the latter states ; but the parting was merely nominal, for scarce a day passed that the Duchess did not lunch or dine with Her Majesty.

Nothing could be more homely more simple than the married life of the royal couple. Breakfasting about nine o'clock, they weather permitting, afterwards went into the spacious grounds beyond Buckingham Palace, into which the Prince had introduced rare aquatic birds and "all sorts of animals" which he taught to come to him for food when he whistled. The garden was quitted only that correspondence might be attended to and business transacted ; but if this was finished before lunch, they drew and watched their drawings

being etched by Miss Skerrett, who nominally was first dresser to Her Majesty. Luncheon was served at two o'clock at which Melbourne was almost invariably present. Further business having been gone through with him after that meal, the Prince drove the Queen in a pony-carriage through the park or into the suburbs. On days when she drove out with the Duchess of Kent or with her ladies, he rode by her side. Then came dinner at eight o'clock when guests were always present. It was Her Majesty's wish to abolish what she termed the bad habit of men staying a considerable time at table after she had left ; but Melbourne advised against it, and the Prince thought it better that the change which he also desired, should not be made.

After dinner the Queen, who at this time was taking singing lessons from Signor Lablache, often joined in a duet with the Prince who was a skilled musician. Frequently there were little dances ; and occasionally visits were paid to Covent Garden Theatre to see Madame Vestris and Charles Mathews ; to the Princess's to see Charles Kean's Shakespearian revivals ; to the Hanover Square Rooms, or to the Ancient Concerts of which the Prince was one of the directors. There were also balls given by Her Majesty, who was also entertained by her nobles. Among these were the Duke of Wellington, at Apsley House, the windows of which at this time and since they had been

smashed by a mob resentful of his opposition to the Reform Bill, were covered outside by iron shutters and inside by mirrors; the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland to whom the Queen made the memorable remark "I come from my house to your palace"; Lord and Lady Lansdowne when her Majesty gave permission for her uncle's wife, the newly created Duchess of Inverness, to sit at the royal supper table. •

The Queen and her Consort frequently sought change at Windsor and at Claremont. The Prince who had an artist's appreciation for hill-side and valley, for spaces of sky and changing clouds, felt depressed by the London atmosphere and was never so happy as when in the country, which he described as his Paradise. This taste was not shared at first by the Queen, who in her girlhood had always been wretched when obliged to leave the capital, to which she returned with delight. But by degrees and under his influence, she began to see and to enjoy the beauties which so strongly appealed to him, until eventually life in London became positively hateful to her.

The happy security of the early months of their married life was suddenly checked by an attempt, the first of others soon to follow, to assassinate the Queen. The directness and daring of the act made it the more astounding. On the afternoon of June 10, 1840, Her Majesty and the Prince drove in a small phaeton from Buckingham Palace with the intention of calling

on the Duchess of Kent. As they proceeded up Constitution Hill the Prince noticed a mean-looking little man point something at them, and before he could distinguish what it was, heard a loud report. The Queen who had not seen him did not immediately realise that she had been shot at ; but turning saw a youth frowning darkly, with arms crossed, and a pistol in each hand like a burlesque villain. Scarcely had she caught sight of this surprising vision than it was obscured by another flash, when the Prince drew her down that the expected ball might pass over her head. By that time a crowd hurrying from all quarters had seized the culprit who made no attempt to escape or to resist. The Prince then ordered the postillion who had stopped to go on, and grasping the Queen's hands asked if she were frightened, at which she laughed. Her Majesty's courage and self-possession were admirable, as was her thought for her mother whom she was eager to reach that she might anticipate any report that might be carried to the Duchess.

Having herself brought news of the attempt on her life, and received warm congratulations on her escape, she drove through the Park, "to show the public" as the Prince writes, "that we had not on account of what had happened lost all confidence in them." By the time she reached it a report had spread of the outrage, when roused by a feeling of personal loyalty to the Sovereign and of gratitude that an

incalculable national calamity had been averted, she was received with enthusiasm by an immense crowd, all the horsemen present forming themselves into an escort that rode behind and accompanied her back to the palace amid the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and ringing cheers. The cause of all this sensation turned out to be a lad of seventeen named Edward Oxford, a potboy craving for that notoriety which is characteristic of weak minds. At his trial he refused to be represented by counsel, declared himself guilty, and hinted that he represented a mysterious society who had elected him to assassinate the Queen. As no balls could be found it was doubted if this had really been his intention. Having gained his lofty ambition of seeing his name in the newspapers, he appeared quite satisfied to pay the penalty of passing the remainder of his days in a lunatic asylum.

The outburst of loyalty caused by this incident was strengthened when it became known that the Queen was about to become a mother. To provide for the contingency of her death and the survival of her heir, it was thought necessary for Parliament to name a Regent. On Melbourne consulting Wellington on the point the latter said that "it could and ought to be nobody but the Prince." With this view all agreed save the Duke of Sussex, who thinking that the rights of Her Majesty's uncles should not be passed over, opposed it in the House of Lords. With that single

dissenting voice the Bill appointing the Prince as Regent was passed. This proof of confidence in him, the first he received from Parliament, deeply gratified the Queen. "Three months ago they would not have done it for him," Melbourne said to her ; adding "It is entirely due to his own character."

The birth of Her Majesty's first child was looked forward to with intense interest by the nation. That it should be a boy was the hope of all. The event happened sooner than was expected, so that at an early hour on Saturday morning November 21, 1840, messengers were despatched right and left to summon the Duchess of Kent, the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and the chief members of the Cabinet ; those who were absent from town, such as Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Clarendon, having special couriers sent for them to Bowood and Walford. They in company with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had been waiting for some time in an apartment adjoining the Queen's bedroom in Buckingham Palace, when a few minutes before two in the afternoon the door was opened and, says the *Annual Register*, "a nurse entered with an infant Princess wrapped in flannel in her arms. Her Royal Highness was for a moment laid upon the table for the observation of the assembled authorities, and then returned to her chamber to receive her first attire."

The Queen who had never for a moment been



From a drawing and engraving by D. J. Pound.

**H.R.H. PRINCESS FREDERICK WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA,
Princess Royal, afterwards the Empress Frederick.**

in danger was two days later "as well as if nothing had happened," as the Prince wrote to his father. During the weeks that followed he was seldom absent from her side, reading or talking to her. He allowed none but himself to lift her from her bed to the sofa which he wheeled into the next room, and his care of her was as she wrote, "like that of a mother; nor could there be a kinder, wiser, or more judicious nurse." On the anniversary of the Queen's marriage, February 10, 1841, the Princess Royal, who afterwards became the Empress Frederick, was baptized at Buckingham Palace and given the names of Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa; her sponsors being Queen Adelaide, the Duchess of Kent, the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg as represented by Wellington, King Leopold, and the Duke of Sussex.

Later in the year the Queen became deeply concerned in the issue of political affairs. The weakness and unpopularity of the disunited Whigs had for a considerable time been evident to all, but it was not until the spring of this year 1841, that a decisive blow was dealt them. On April 30, the Government proposed to reduce the duty on foreign sugar. A debate lasting eight nights followed and ended in a defeat for them by a majority of thirty-six. Sir Robert Peel then proposed a vote of want of confidence in the Government the continuance of which in office

was at variance with the spirit of the constitution. To prevent this being carried and to obtain a majority for themselves, no stone was left unturned by the ministers, who among other things brought down, says Greville, "a lord who is in a state of drivelling idiocy, and quite incapable of comprehending what he was about. The poor wretch was brought in a chair; they got him into the House and then wheeled him past the tellers. Charles Howard, Melbourne's private secretary told me he thought it a monstrous and indecent proceeding." The vote was carried by a majority of one. The obvious course of immediate resignation was not taken by the Cabinet, though some of its members the Premier among them, considered that step advisable. Instead, he yielded to the desire of such of his colleagues who thought that dissolution and an appeal to the country would give them a chance of continuing in power, his primary reason being to please the Queen who disliked the Tories, looked coldly on their leader Sir Robert Peel, and dreaded the changes in her surroundings which their holding office must bring about.

Parliament was dissolved June 29, 1841, and the general election fixed for the following August. With heart and soul the Queen hoped for the return of the Whigs, a striking mark of whose unpopularity was brought under her notice. On her visiting Oxford with the Prince that he might receive his

doctor's degree, her Whig ministers individually and collectively were vehemently hissed and hooted in her presence, to her great indignation. Their tactics when on canvassing the country they made her ostensibly the head of their party, and identified her with themselves and their measures in their cry "The Queen and cheap bread"; and "The Queen and the country against monopoly," were not repudiated or censured by the Sovereign; who showed them favour in visiting Lord Melbourne at Bocket Hall, and his nephew Lord Cowper at Panshanger. She likewise honoured two other Whig peers in the same way; the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, which was so magnificent an establishment that its owner could not afford to live there for more than two or three months in the year; and the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey, a residence equally splendid, not less than four hundred and fifty people being employed on the surrounding estate, which was kept in admirable order. Bitter disappointment awaited her when the elections showed a majority of seventy-six for the Tories. As if to mark her feelings towards them, Her Majesty did not open the new Parliament which met August 19, 1841, her speech being read by the Lord Chancellor. In the Upper House Lord Ripon moved an amendment to the Address which after a long debate was carried at five o'clock on the morning of August 28, by a majority of seventy-two. In the House of Commons

the ministers were defeated on the Address by a majority of ninety-one.

With a view to coming events, Melbourne—as the Duke of Bedford told Charles Greville—“had worked hard to reconcile the Queen’s mind to the impending change, and to tranquillise her and induce her to do properly what she will have to do; and the Prince has done the same, and that their efforts have been successful.” On his seeing Her Majesty at Windsor on the evening of his defeat, Melbourne found her depressed but resigned to the alteration of affairs. He himself showed no annoyance and expressed his anxiety only in so far as it might occasion trouble or uneasiness to Her Majesty. “For four years,” said he, “I have seen you every day; but it is so different now to what it would have been in 1839; the Prince understands everything so well.” Having tendered his resignation he advised the Queen to send for Sir Robert Peel. The parting between the Sovereign and her Prime Minister was painful to both, the Queen being much affected. But the sadness of their farewell was made less depressing to her by his praise of the Prince whose tact and judgment he greatly appreciated. And no sooner had he returned to town, than he again repeated his words in a letter to Her Majesty which she copied and sent to King Leopold. In this he said: “Lord Melbourne cannot satisfy himself without again stating

to Your Majesty in writing what he had the honour of saying to Your Majesty respecting His Royal Highness the Prince. Lord Melbourne has formed the highest opinion of His Royal Highness's judgment, temper, and discretion, and he cannot but feel a great consolation and security in the reflection that he leaves Your Majesty in a situation in which Your Majesty has the inestimable advantage of such advice and assistance. Lord Melbourne feels certain that Your Majesty cannot do better than have recourse to it whenever it is needed, and rely upon it with confidence." This, the Queen added gave her great pleasure and made her feel proud, as it came from a man who was no flatterer and would not have expressed such praise if he did not think it deserved.

One proof of the Prince's discretion and good sense was that seeing the Whig Government could not last, he had three months before its fall with the knowledge and approval of Melbourne, entered into secret negotiations with Sir Robert Peel. In this the latter showed his desire to avoid a repetition of the unpleasant disagreement regarding the Queen's ladies which had happened in 1839, and to smooth any difficulties that might arise when he became Prime Minister. As a result it was agreed that the Duchesses of Sutherland and Bedford, and Lady Normanby should on a change of Government occurring, resign of their own accord their respective positions, as Mistress of

the Robes and Ladies-in-Waiting ; so that the principle regarding which the Queen and Peel had differed, should be left untouched. In these negotiations Peel showed a delicacy, courtesy, and fairness which greatly pleased the Prince, and helped to make him more acceptable to the Queen.

When he waited on Her Majesty at Windsor on September 1, she received him graciously, though she could not forbear telling him of her regret at parting with her late ministers. Two days later he and the members of his Cabinet went to Claremont where the Sovereign was staying, for their first Council. All the members of the old Government who had seals or wands to surrender were in one room ; the new Cabinet and the new Privy Councillors in another ; all in full dress. The household were in the hall. The Queen saw her late ministers one by one. That ceremony ended she sent for the Clerk of the Council to inquire in what manner the seals were to be transferred to the new ministers. He found her with the Prince at the table covered with bags and boxes, when he told her it was usual to give the ministers their seals in Council. "She looked very much flushed and her heart was evidently brim full," he writes ; "but she was composed, and throughout the whole of the proceedings when her emotion might very well have overpowered her, she preserved complete self-possession, composure, and

dignity. This struck me as a great effort of self-control, and remarkable in so young a woman. Taking leave is always a melancholy ceremony, and to take leave of those who have been about her for four years, whom she likes, and whom she thinks are attached to her, together with all the reminiscences and reflections which the occasion was calculated to excite, might well have elicited uncontrollable emotions. But though her feelings were quite evident she succeeded in mastering them, and she sat at the Council Board with a complete presence of mind, and when she declared the President and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, her voice did not falter. Though no courtier I did feel a strong mixture of pity and admiration at such a display of firmness."

It is probable that Her Majesty felt more calm and satisfied during this ceremony, because of the private audience she had previously given Peel. He had then assured her that in regard to the changes in her household he considered it his first and greatest duty to consult her happiness and desires; that no person should be proposed to her who could be disagreeable to her; and that whatever claims or pretensions might be put forward on the score of political or parliamentary influence, nothing should induce him to listen to them in case they were inconsistent with her comfort or opposed to her inclinations. His evident desire to meet her wishes helped to reconcile

the Queen to the change in her Prime Minister, and to show friendlier feelings towards Peel. That he should gain her confidence and make himself agreeable to her, was the wish of that most generous, least jealous of rivals, Lord Melbourne ; who after a dinner given on the evening of the first Council, at Stafford House, took Greville aside and in his breezy way asked, "Have you any means of speaking to these chaps?" On Greville replying that he could say anything to the new ministers, Melbourne said there were one or two things that Peel ought to be told. "Don't let him suffer any appointment he is going to make to be talked about"; he began, "and don't let her hear it through anybody but himself; and whenever he does anything, or has anything to propose, let him explain to her clearly his reasons. The Queen is not conceited; she is aware that there are many things she cannot understand, and she likes to have them explained to her elementarily, not at length and in detail, but shortly and clearly; neither does she like long audiences, and I never stayed with her a long time. These things he should attend to, and they will make matters go on more smoothly."

Aware that he was cold and unconciliatory in his manner, Peel felt awkward and ill at ease in the presence of the Queen, standing stiff and erect like a sentry, lifting his feet and moving his legs in a way that disconcerted her. He was so shy, she said

that it made her shy and that rendered their intercourse difficult and embarrassing. During the following weeks he was in frequent consultation with Her Majesty regarding the members of her new household. Though she desired that Lady Abercorn should be her Mistress of the Robes, that position was offered to the Duchess of Buccleuch who refusing it at first, was afterwards persuaded to accept it. At the same time the Duke of Rutland refused to become Lord Chamberlain, a post that was next offered to and declined by Lord Exeter, and was eventually filled by Earl Delawarr. As to many of the minor appointments, the trouble was to select from those whose selfishness and self-sufficiency made them believe themselves individually, the most suitable persons possible for the posts they demanded, and exempt from any general rule that might thwart their wishes.

By the time the household had been selected and filled, an event of the greatest importance occupied her Majesty's thoughts, and interested even the least of her subjects; the coming of her second child. Healthy and high spirited as she was, no fear of her condition was felt; indeed she had commanded Sir Robert Peel among others to dine with her on November 9 (1841), to obey which he had declined an invitation to the city banquet on the same date. But on the morning of that day at seven o'clock Her Majesty was taken ill, when the great officers of the

State were hastily summoned to Buckingham Palace. Some of them had not arrived when at forty-eight minutes past ten o'clock, she gave birth to a son and heir, who was destined to succeed her. The thundering of cannon from the Tower and the park, and the ringing of church bells through the foggy air, soon gave notice to the people of an event which gave them heartfelt joy. In eager crowds they hastened to the Palace in front of which, muffled and half-frozen, they remained for the remainder of that grey cold day, anxious to hear the latest detail of the baby Prince, to read the bulletin of Her Majesty's favourable condition, and to watch the nobility drive through their ranks to make inquiries and register their names. They were also entertained by seeing the new Lord Mayor and his sheriffs in their emblazoned state coaches drive to the palace to offer their congratulations.

The date on which the Prince was born henceforth added to the hilarity of the time-honoured festival of Lord Mayor's Day. On the other hand the exact moment of his birth entailed some curious complications. According to ancient custom the officer on guard at St. James's Palace when a royal child was born was promoted to a majority. On this special morning the relieving guard gaily marched into the Palace Yard at forty-five minutes after ten o'clock, three minutes before the Prince was born. Subsequently a dispute arose as to which of the officers

was entitled to claim the customary promotion ; the officer of the relieving guard considering it due to him because he and his men had been in the Yard three minutes in advance of the Prince's entrance into the world ; while the other officer argued that it was due to him, because his men had not been changed and were still on guard at the moment of the Prince's birth. It was eventually decided that the promotion was due to him. A somewhat similar dispute disturbed the peace of Chester. The Prince being born Earl of Chester, the mayor of that borough was entitled to claim a baronetcy on the birth. But as the old mayor went out, and the new mayor came into office the same day and the same hour, both laid claim to a baronetcy. The heat of their dispute was increased from the fact that one of them was a Whig and the other a Tory.

On hearing at one o'clock that day of the Prince's birth, Lieutenant Richard James Morrison, formerly of the Royal Navy, and the inventor of the Bell Buoy, who in his retirement had become a student of astrology, drew up a horoscope or map of the heavens for the moment of the royal nativity. From this he predicted and published in his Zadkiel's Almanack for 1842, that the newborn infant would prove to have "a shrewd and clever turn of mind with good natural talents. And as he has Jupiter so strong he will become a mild and benevolent Sovereign, though firm and rather

positive in opinion. On the whole I may congratulate the country on this royal nativity." As this delineation was written for immediate publication in his almanack, Zadkiel returned to the subject when in May 1842 he issued a little pamphlet preserved in the British Museum Library giving his "Predictions from the Nativity of the Prince of Wales." These chiefly relate to the personal appearance and mental qualities of the Prince whom he said would have "an oval face, ruddy complexion, chestnut hair, much beard, a good eye," and be "courteous, fair conditioned, noble in deportment, just, a lover of horses, accomplished, deserving of respect, liberal, frank, self-confident, brave, ingenious, unreserved, yet acute." The predictions deal with two exceptions with the early years of life and chiefly concern, "obstructions of the stomach" and childish ailments. The two referred to indicate the same pre-knowledge as is shown in his description of the Prince's physical and mental qualities. The first of these says: "There is reason to apprehend some degree of suffering to the Prince's father during the spring or early summer of 1844." Prince Albert's father to whom he was deeply attached, died after a few hours' illness January 29, 1844. The second prediction is that at the age of twenty-three the Prince of Wales would marry a Princess "of high rank, deserving of his kindest and most affectionate attentions." In point of date only this was inaccurate,



**H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, AT THE TIME
OF HIS MARRIAGE.**

for the Prince of Wales married March 10, 1863, when twenty-one years and four months old.

The choice of sponsors for the heir to the throne became a subject of debate and consideration. This was made more complex because of the conflicting claims to that honour from various relatives. From the first it was decided that such should not be paid to the King of Hanover who in consequence "was furious," but that from political reasons it should be offered to Frederick William IV., of Prussia. His Majesty who was a great-grand-nephew of Frederick the Great, was then in his forty-seventh year, and had succeeded his father only in the previous year. But there had already arisen between him—who was convinced of the divine rights of Kings and of his own high office as an anointed of the Lord—and his subjects who demanded a constitutional form of Government, a fierce struggle which had not ended when insanity overtook him, and the sceptre he regarded as a symbol of his heavenly commission, became to him as a bauble in the hands of a child. But at this time, 1841, he was active in mind and vigorous in body. A residence at Paris in early life had given him an interest in art, he delighted in music and painting, had studied architecture, read the literatures of all nations, could make fluent speeches, and in every capital he visited showed inexhaustible energy in gaining knowledge of the workings of institutes, the administration of Parliament, and the

regulation of armies, his interest extending to all persons and all things.

The Queen desired that His Majesty should not send a representative but be present in person at the ceremony of the Prince's baptism. This it was desired should take place in the middle of January 1842, but she was willing to postpone it until the following month if that would prove more convenient to His Majesty. This was explained to Baron Bunsen, the Prussian Minister at the Court of St. James. Bunsen at once communicated her wishes to His Majesty, adding from himself that the English nation would take it ill and not forgive it, if he refused. To this King Frederick William, writing December 6, 1841, replied that his heart drew him to the baptism of the Prince of Wales ; but his dread of the cold season of the year kept him back ; but later he wrote to say he would come to England, and if necessary in the middle of January.

On Saturday January 22, 1842, the King landed about midday at the Admiralty steps Greenwich, where a vast crowd had gathered to welcome him. A tall stout figure wrapped in a military cloak, common looking, his small features brightened by an expression of good nature, he and Prince Albert who had gone down the river to meet him, made their way through a lane of swaying people up the steps and on to the terrace, where he was invited to have some refreshment

in the drawing-room of the Admiral's house. This he refused being in a hurry to reach Windsor, until he heard that the Princess Sophia of Gloucester was among the ladies waiting to receive him there, when he declared he would not leave without speaking to her. But "as he would not commit the disrespect of appearing before a lady of the royal family in his morning coat," he ordered his valet to unpack his evening dress, and in spite of the protestations of Prince Albert that such trouble was unnecessary, changed his costume before presenting himself before her. Later the same afternoon he arrived at Windsor Castle, at the grand entrance of which he was met by the Queen surrounded by the chief members of the household, and her Ladies-in-Waiting. Her Majesty made him two low curtsys and kissed him on either cheek. That evening there was a banquet in the Waterloo Chamber ; and the next day Sunday he rested and heard Bishop Blomfield preach a sermon in a language His Majesty scarce understood. Full of curiosity and eager to see the sights of London, he was up betimes on Monday morning, and soon after breakfast was driving into the capital where he visited Westminster Abbey, examined the building of the Houses of Parliament then being erected, lunched with Queen Adelaide at Marlborough House, and then returned to dinner at Windsor.

On the following day Tuesday January 25, 1842

the Prince of Wales was baptized at one o'clock in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with all possible magnificence, when he was given the names of his father and his grandfather, Albert Edward by his sponsors : the King of Prussia ; the Duchess of Kent as proxy for the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg ; the Duke of Cambridge ; the Duchess of Cambridge as proxy for the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha ; the Princess Augusta of Cambridge as proxy for the Princess Sophia aunt of the Queen ; and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg uncle of Prince Albert. "The Prince of Wales" says Georgiana Ravensworth who as Maid of Honour was present "is a beautiful baby, with fine large eyes, and is as lively and intelligent looking as most children of six or eight months. The Duchess of Buccleuch took him from the nurse and put him into the Archbishop's arms, which she did gracefully and well. After the ceremony the choir sang the Hallelujah Chorus which was very thrilling." The christening which was witnessed by the ambassadors and foreign ministers, the Knights of the Garter in their robes, the Cabinet Ministers, a number of Bishops, and the members of the household. Soon after it had ended a chapter of the Order of the Garter was held, for the investiture of the King as a Knight Companion, the Queen buckling the garter on his knee and placing the ribbon over his shoulder. Then followed lunch, and in the evening a banquet in St. George's Hall, the table extending from end to end

being covered with gold plate and lit by thousands of candles. It was then that for the first time at a state dinner, the health was drunk of the Prince of Wales. Later there was music in the Waterloo Gallery ; which had no sooner ended than an immense gold vessel resembling a bath, and holding the contents of thirty dozen of mulled claret, was brought in, a loving-cup out of which all present were helped, and so ended a memorable day.

For the next week, and for so long as he remained in England, the King of Prussia travelled to town by train every morning bent on seeing everything of interest, such as the British Museum, the Zoological Gardens, the National Gallery, Somerset House, St. Paul's Cathedral, Kensington Palace, Newgate Prison over which he was conducted by Mrs. Fry, and Drury Lane Theatre where he saw *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, with Macready, Miss Fortescue, and Robert Keeley, which to oblige him was begun at six o'clock. At Windsor banquets were given in his honour almost nightly ; of one of which together with a ball, the Baroness Bunsen who was present gives some details. Being quartered in the York Tower, she and her husband wandered on their way to dinner down a long corridor through which courtiers in uniform and state dress moved backwards and forwards, until they were directed to the ballroom where the guests assembled to await the Queen. Punctually

at half-past seven the King of Prussia entered followed soon after by Prince Albert. "We had not stood long" writes the Baroness "when two gentlemen walking in and then turning with profound bows towards the open door, showed that the Queen was approaching." All bowed low as she entered ; then after addressing a few words to those who were presented to her, she took His Prussian Majesty's arm and went in to dinner which was served in the Waterloo Gallery.

To the Baroness the scene seemed like fairyland : "The fine proportions of the hall, the mass of light from above subdued by thick plates of ground-glass, the gold plate on the table, and the side tables glittering with thousands of reflected lights, nothing was wanted but a little more youth and beauty among the ladies to make the spectacle complete. The King's health was drunk as soon as the ice had been carried round, and then Her Majesty rose and departed followed by all the ladies. As soon as the King with Prince Albert came the ball began, the Queen making the King dance in a quadrille with herself, which he did with suitable grace and dignity though he had long given up dancing, and though his figure is not good. It was as pretty a ball as could be seen because everybody danced well, and had ample space in which to move. My impression of the Queen's deportment is that it is perfect in grace and dignity ;

she conversed eagerly with the King, laughing heartily (no company laugh) at things he said to entertain her. At half-past eleven she retired, gracefully bowing to everybody; and I set out on my travels towards my bedchamber, Bunsen being bound first to follow the King. I might have wandered far before I found my door of exit, had I not been directed by a kind old gentleman—I believe it was Lord Albemarle."

On the following day Frederick William lunched with the Bunsens at their house, 4 Carlton Terrace, where among others he met Dr. Arnold of Rugby, Thomas Carlyle, and Archdeacon Hare; on another day he breakfasted with the Prime Minister to meet a number of distinguished artists, men of letters, and science. He was also entertained at Kensington Palace by the Duke of Sussex, who after lunch—at which a gigantic Highlander had perambulated the table to the ear-piercing strains of a bagpipe—took a vast silver ewer filled with rose-water which he presented to the King who seeing the Duke waiting on him, jumped up "with a demonstration of horror" and taking it from him offered it to him in return. But the most splendid feast at which he was present in London was that given him at Stafford House by the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, at whose table a brilliant company of eighty guests sat down to dinner with him.

The King who was much impressed with the magnificence of the English Court and the houses of the English nobility, with the peaceable conduct, loyalty, and good behaviour of people who were governed by a free constitution, and with the heartiness of his own reception, in turn impressed all by his unfailing affability and his boundless appetite. Interested in and thoroughly pleased with all he had seen, he bade an affectionate farewell to the Queen with whom he breakfasted early on the morning of February 4. The Queen accompanied him to the entrance of the Castle, kissed him, made him a low curtsy, and waited till his carriage drove away. As he was being conducted to it by the Lord Chamberlain and other high officials he said "De grâce ne faites donc pas cette cérémonie pour moi, allez vous en, allez vous en." Having seen a review of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, inspected models of ships and machinery at the Rotunda, lunched with Lord Bloomfield, and visited the arsenal, he embarked at the West Wharf stairs on board the yacht *Firebrand* which carried him to Ostend. His character was enthusiastically admired especially by those who benefited by one of its traits—generosity; for before departing he made presents of snuff-boxes valued at five hundred guineas each to the Lord Chamberlain, Earl Delawarr; to the Master of the Horse, the Earl of Jersey; and to the Lord Steward, the Earl of Liverpool; and left

fifteen hundred pounds to be divided among the royal servants.

Notwithstanding that the Chartist riots disturbed the country, a general sense of tranquillity was felt at Court, chiefly because of the friendly feeling that gradually grew up and strengthened between Her Majesty and her ministers. This was in a great measure due to Peel, who not only acted on Melbourne's suggestion, but who won the Queen's esteem by his appreciation of Prince Albert, to whose presence at the Councils he made no objection. Though every member of the Cabinet treated her with the profound respect due to the Sovereign, the Queen who was frank in all her ways, was not the less pleased with the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, because as he said he "made it a rule to address her as he would a sensible man, laying all matters before her, with the reasons for the advice he tendered," which he thought was "the most legitimate as well as judicious flattery that could be offered to her, and such as must gratify her, and the more because there was no appearance of flattery in it, and nothing but what was fit and proper."

But while feeling satisfied with her ministers and enjoying many social events, the Queen was startled by a second attempt on her life. It happened that on Sunday afternoon May 29, 1842, about two o'clock as she and Prince Albert were driving along the Mall on their return from the Chapel Royal, he noticed among

the crowd of spectators under the trees on his left, a man step forward and present a pistol at Her Majesty. That the Prince did not instantly cause him to be arrested seems strange. The Queen who was bowing to those on her right, did not notice the incident. When next morning it was reported at the Palace by one who had overheard him, that this individual had said as the Queen passed, "I was a fool I did not shoot her," the circumstance seemed serious enough to need immediate attention. At the consultation which followed it was Her Majesty's wish that the case should not be given into the hands of the police, but that she should expose herself to the danger of being assassinated, that the malefactor who attempted or perpetrated the deed might be taken red-handed. To all arguments against this plan she said she would not be made a prisoner in her own palace; and that she would not have a moment's peace so long as the probability of being shot at hung above her.

It was therefore arranged that she and the Prince should drive out as usual and return along the Mall. She would not allow any of her ladies to accompany her, being unwilling that they should risk the danger she defied; but she agreed that Colonel Arbuthnot, one of her equerries, and Colonel Wylde, one of the Prince's equerries should ride close to the carriage at either side, and that fifty policemen in civilian dress should be near the spot where the man had been seen the previous

day. At four o'clock on Monday afternoon the Queen who appeared calm and cool, took her seat Prince Albert beside her in a open barouche, which with its outriders and footmen in their scarlet liveries swept bravely out of the palace gates. Driving through the park they proceeded towards Hampstead and then turned homewards. Then came the moment of trial and excitement, for as the horses were being driven at a pace of about twelve miles an hour down Constitution Hill, a man was seen to raise his arm and a flash followed. "God be thanked ; now we are safe. I heard the report" exclaimed the Queen, as the frightened horses hurried forward. No sooner had the shot been fired than Colonel Arbuthnot sprang from his horse to give the assailant in charge, but a constable had already seized him, and in a second he was surrounded by policemen and civilians from whom he made no attempt to free himself.

The royal carriage drove without stopping to the palace where it had no sooner arrived than the Queen despatched a messenger to Clarence House to assure the Duchess of Kent of her safety. On the latter hearing of the attempt she hurried to Buckingham Palace, and in a state of nervous excitement sought the Queen, flung her arms round her neck and broke into sobs. Her Majesty who had shown marvellous courage was so little affected by the ordeal that she did not think it necessary to postpone a dinner party for which

guests had been commanded that evening. The offender proved to be a half-starved carpenter described by the Prince as "a little, swarthy, ill-looking rascal" named John Francis. On being arrested he exclaimed, "Patience gentlemen; by and by you shall hear everything"; and on being searched was found to be in possession of a penny. His manner was calm and depressed but gave no hint of insanity. At his trial June 17, he made no attempt to deny his crime for which he appeared to have had no motive save to gain notoriety. After a consultation of twenty-five minutes the jury returned a verdict of guilty, when Chief Justice Tindal pronounced sentence that he "be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, that you be drawn from thence on a hurdle to the place of execution, and that you be hanged by the neck until you be dead; that your head be afterwards severed from your body, and that your body be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of in such manner as to Her Majesty shall seem fit." It is hardly necessary to say this mediæval sentence was not carried out, for the Queen commuting his sentence to transportation for life, he was sent to the Australian colonies.

Before John Francis had sailed in the transport ship *York*, a third attempt was made on the life of the Queen as she was driving from the palace to the Chapel Royal on Sunday morning July 3, in company with Prince Albert and the King of the Belgians.

This was the action of a hunch-back of sixteen, named John William Bean, a lad "with a long sickly face ; dressed in a very long surtout which appeared too large for him ; his nose marked with a scar ; and he is altogether of a dirty appearance." Though he was seen to present a pistol at the Queen as she passed, no explosion followed ; and it was probable that his intention had been merely to figure in a sensational scene without malicious intent. At the trial on August 25, Lord Abinger told the pinch-faced, wild-eyed miserable little wretch whose head barely reached above the dock, that he had been convicted by a jury of his countrymen of an attempt to harass, vex, and grieve his Sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen ; and to create alarm among and to disturb the peace of Her Majesty's subjects by presenting a pistol loaded with powder and wadding at the carriage in which she was seated, and with attempting to cause that pistol to explode ; for which he was sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months in the penitentiary at Millbank.

These outrages led to the passing of an Act of Parliament providing for the further security and protection of Her Majesty's person (July 16, 1842), by which any attempt to injure the Sovereign should be treated as if the offender had attempted murder ; and for which the penalty was transportation beyond the seas for the term of seven years, or imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding

three years, during which time he was to be whipped as often and in such manner as the Court ordered and directed, not exceeding thrice. The fear of such punishment for a time quenched the desire for notoriety, such as had prompted those who had already assaulted Her Majesty.

CHAPTER IV

The Court goes to Scotland for the first time—Sir Robert Peel's account to the Home Secretary—Entertained by the Scottish nobility—Breadalbane spends a "muckle deal o' silver"—Her Majesty's regret at leaving—The Prince and the royal household—General confusion and inconvenience in the palace—Safety of the Queen—The Prime Minister's views—The Prince succeeds—The Hon. Charles Murray, Master of the Household—His adventurous career—He entertains the Queen—Another reformation made by the Prince—Fighting of duels—The Earl of Cardigan is tried by his peers—Tragic ending to the duel between Colonel Fawcett and Lieutenant Munro—The Anti-duelling Association—Ministers amend the Articles of War—The Prince's humane and tactful endeavours—Death of the Duke of Sussex—His request to be buried in Kensal Green Cemetery—Birth of the Princess Alice—The King of Hanover appointed sponsor—The King and the Prince—The Queen gives His Majesty a lesson—The first Sovereign to leave England since Henry VIII.—The necessity to have a Regent considered—First trip of the *Victoria and Albert*—Louis Philippe a schoolmaster in Switzerland—His return to Paris on the fall of Napoleon—Declares himself a republican and is elected Lieutenant-General of the realm—Subsequently is made King—His large family—Death of the Duc d'Orléans—The English Sovereign on board her yacht—Her answer to Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence—Landing on the French coast—Louis Philippe's greeting—In a char-à-banc—"Vive la Reine d'Angleterre"—Pleasant days in a French country house—Simplicity and family life—Farewell to France.

CHAPTER IV

THOUGH her Majesty experienced many pleasurable events during the next few years, probably none gave her greater satisfaction than her first visit to Scotland. This, to which she had long looked forward, was taken in August 1842. As the Government considered it unsafe for her to pass through the midland counties then disturbed by the Chartist agitation, it was decided that she should travel by water. On the 29th of the month, accompanied by Prince Albert, by the Duchess of Norfolk—wife of Henry Charles, who had just succeeded his father as thirteenth Duke of Norfolk—and the Earl of Morton, as Lady of the Bedchamber and as Lord-in-Waiting, as well as by the chief members of the royal household, she drove to Woolwich and embarked on the *Royal George*. This yacht was commanded by Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence, a son of William IV. Great crowds gathered to see Her Majesty depart, the scene was bright with flags flying from the craft on the river, bands played the national anthem, and the guns at Tilbury Fort fired a royal salute.

The Queen who was in high spirits talked with perfect ease to those around her, as Lord Adolphus afterwards told Greville, "taking great interest and very curious about everything in the ship, dining on deck in the midst of the sailors, making them dance, talking to the boatswain, and in short doing everything that was popular and ingratiating. Her chief fault in little things as in great, seems to be impatience ; in sea phrase she always wants to go ahead ; she can't bear contradiction nor to be thwarted. She was put out because she could not get quicker to the end of her voyage, and land so soon as she wished." It was probable that the Queen had as much experience of the sea as she desired ; for having reached Aberledy Bay at one o'clock on the morning of September 1, she desired to land at Granton Pier at nine, and drive direct to Dalkeith Palace the residence of the Duke of Buccleuch, before the civic authorities and the people of Edinburgh were aware of her arrival, and had an opportunity of offering her the cordial and loyal welcome to which they had looked forward.

Two days later the Queen—who at her request had been met by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen—made her state entry into Edinburgh where she was generally well received by her Scottish subjects. At the conclusion of her visit to the city Her Majesty lunched with Lord Rosebery at Dalmeny Park, and returned the same evening to Dalkeith Palace. In

an interesting letter of the Prime Minister written to the Home Secretary, and published in the *Peel Papers* admirably edited by Mr. Charles Stuart Parker, Sir Robert writing September 3, 1842, says, "We have just concluded with great success the very nervous operation of taking the Queen in a low open carriage from Dalkeith to Dalmeny, sixteen miles, through the Canongate and High Street, and back by Leith in the evening. Countless thousands of persons; the police arrangements in Edinburgh very defective; a mob allowed to run all the way alongside the carriage, composed of some fifty or sixty thousand Chartists and low blackguards. However they could do nothing, and particularly in Leith, against the almost unanimous feeling of loyalty. The Queen has returned quite safe and I believe without having heard a disagreeable word."

Two days later the Queen held a Drawing-room at Dalkeith Palace, being prevented from holding it as she had desired at Holyrood House, because a contagious fever had broken out in the district. Among other members of the Scottish nobility whom she visited were the Earl of Kinnoul at Duppin Castle, where she lunched; the Earl of Mansfield at his sombre dreary residence Scone Castle where she dined and slept the night; Lord Glenlyon at Dunkeld Castle, where she was received by her youthful, blind host and his numerous clan, between whose ranks she

was led to the great tent where she lunched and that was guarded by Highlanders with drawn swords ; and the Marquis of Breadalbane at Taymouth Castle, where again she was received by thousands of kilted Highlanders, heroic figures with shields and drawn swords, or with bagpipes whose shrill notes were scarce drowned by the wild shouts of welcome with which they mingled. Nearly all the nobility of Scotland had been invited to meet Her Majesty, who sat down that evening to a magnificent banquet, and afterwards came out upon the terrace to see a splendid display of fireworks that lit in a weird and magic fashion the mountains and glens, lakes and forests around. The cost of the entertainment was enormous and was deeply deplored by one of the Marquis's clansmen, who mournfully said, " It's a very proper thing for Breadalbane to give his countenance to the Queen, but he's spending a muckle deal o' silver."

Her Majesty returned from this tour to Dalkeith Palace, when Sir Robert Peel again writing to Sir James Graham, September 14, 1842, tells him he was very glad when she set her foot safely within its walls. Having referred to the "black looks" given her in her progress, of which apparently she was unconscious, he says : " The crowds in Stirling and Linlithgow were astonishing, and the clamour and excitement quite sufficient to show that private tours in Scotland by the Sovereign are not very practicable. The loyalty

in these places was very unruly ; the pressure in the streets made me fear not one but a hundred accidents. There was no choice as the weather was fine but to leave open the low carriage in which the Queen sat, which placed her perfectly at the mercy of a very well behaved but very boisterous mob. She told me that she had great difficulty in preventing them from seizing her hand, for the purpose of manifesting their loyalty."

Their stay of a fortnight in Scotland gave the Queen and the Prince the warmest pleasure. The latter thought the air of Scotland purer and lighter than that of England, and that the Scottish people were " more natural and marked by that honesty and sympathy which always distinguished the inhabitants of mountainous countries who live far away from towns." The Sovereign at the same time instructed Lord Aberdeen the Foreign Secretary, to write to the Lord Advocate to say : " The Queen will leave Scotland with a feeling of regret that her visit on this occasion could not be further prolonged. Her Majesty fully expected to witness the loyalty and attachment of her Scottish subjects ; but the devotion and enthusiasm evinced in every quarter and by all ranks, have produced an impression on the mind of Her Majesty which can never be effaced."

On his return to Windsor the Prince occupied himself among other matters in looking after the

model farm which he had established there, in laying out the grounds and gardens surrounding the Castle, and in reforming the royal household a subject to which he had already given much attention. During former reigns it had fallen into a state of extravagance and disorganisation which on the accession of Queen Victoria sometimes resulted in inconvenience and discomfort, and risked her personal safety. The chief cause was that the royal household instead of being under one department, and controlled by one directing officer, was divided into three departments governed by three high officers of State ; the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse, each of whom held office, not because of any qualification which recommended him for it, but from political considerations ; and all of whom were bound to change with the Government to which they owed their appointment. And not only did each hold office independently and without the concurrence of the other, but none of them had a clear idea of its responsibilities or limits. Finally as they did not live in the palaces they were unable to control or to superintend such duties as they delegated to others.

Some idea of the confusion that reigned, may be had when it is stated that the housekeepers, pages, and housemaids, were under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain ; that the footmen, livery-porters, and under-butlers, were under the jurisdiction of the

Master of the Horse ; while other servants such as the clerk of the kitchen, the cooks, the scullions, etc., were controlled by the Lord Steward. It was he who in the reign of George III. had the custody and charge of the whole palace excepting the royal apartments ; in the two succeeding reigns the whole of the ground-floor, including halls, dining-rooms, etc. were in his charge. On the accession of Queen Victoria he had surrendered the care of the grand hall and other rooms on the ground-floor to the Lord Chamberlain. As to who had charge of the kitchens, sculleries, and pantries, none were quite certain. It was the duty of the Lord Chamberlain to see that the apartments were sufficiently provided with lamps, but it was the province of the Lord Steward to see that they were cleaned, trimmed, and lit. If a pane of glass or the door of a cupboard required mending in kitchen or scullery, a requisition to that effect was prepared and signed by the chief cook, counter-signed by the Clerk of the Kitchen, and signed for the third time by the Master of the Household, before it was taken to the Lord Chamberlain's office, where it was authorised, and then laid before the Clerk of the Board of Works under the office of Woods and Forests.

In the *Memorandum on the Royal Household*, from which the foregoing details have been condensed, drawn up at the request of the Prince, by Baron

Stockmar, the latter continues : " As neither the Lord Chamberlain nor the Master of the Horse has a regular deputy residing in the Palace, more than two-thirds of all the male and female servants are left without a master in the house. They can come on and go off duty as they choose, and they can remain absent for hours and hours on their days of waiting, or they may commit any excess or irregularity ; there is nobody to observe, to correct, or to reprimand them. The various details of internal arrangement whereon depend the well-being and comfort of the whole establishment, no one is cognisant of or responsible for. There is no officer responsible for the cleanliness, order, and security of the rooms and offices throughout the palace. These things are left to Providence ; and if smoking, drinking, and other irregularities occur in the dormitories where footmen etc. sleep ten or twelve in each room, no one can help it. There is no one who attends to the comfort of the Queen's guests on their arrival at the royal residence. When they arrive at present, there is no one prepared to show them to or from their apartments ; there is no gentleman in the palace who even knows where they are lodged, and there is not even a servant who can perform this duty which is attached to the Lord Chamberlain's department. It frequently happens at Windsor that some of the visitors are at a loss to find the drawing-room, and at night

if they happen to forget the right entrance from the corridors, they wander for an hour helpless and unassisted. There is nobody to apply to in such a case, for it is not in the department of the Master of the Household, and the only remedy is to send a servant if one can be found, to the porter's lodge to ascertain the apartment in question."

Once when the Queen sent Stockmar to the Master of the Household to complain that the dining-room was always cold, that official replied : "You see, properly speaking it is not our fault ; for the Lord Steward lays the fire only, and the Lord Chamberlain lights it." This speaks for the discomfort she suffered from officialism, while *The Annual Register* reports cases of negligence regarding her safety. On three occasions a lad named Jones, gained an entrance into Buckingham Palace. On the first of these he was discovered at one o'clock in the morning under a sofa in an apartment adjoining Her Majesty's bedroom ; while on the third, August 15, 1841, he was arrested by the serjeant of police in charge of the interior of the palace, only when the urchin, who had been enjoying a hearty supper, had run against the representative of the law in the dark. On being asked how he had obtained an entrance, his reply was the same as on previous occasions, "Oh, I can get into the palace any time I like." A more serious case of intrusion was that of a madman who on August 15, 1842, was

found lying at night on a bench close to the stairs leading to the royal nursery at Windsor. When roused he declared that as he had got into comfortable quarters he intended to remain there for the night ; and on being asked his name said it was Lord Godolphin d'Arcy, and that he had come to ask his friend the Queen to reinstate him in his rights.

By this time it seemed to the Prince that a sweeping reform should be made in the management of the royal household ; but acting with his usual discretion, and careful in this as in all ways not to trespass on the prerogatives of others, he consulted the Prime Minister on the subject. But the First Minister, as we learn from Sir Theodore Martin's interesting life of the Prince Consort, while agreeing that the confusion, disorder, and waste, in the palace needed reformation was not anxious that it should be undertaken. Ancient institutions and prescriptive usages in the Court ought not to be touched, he considered, but with the maturest reflection and caution. He feared any action which would make the great offices of the State less an object of ambition than they were to the distinguished members of the House of Peers : and he pointed out that among the personnel of the household, the fear of reduction, the hope of profiting by lavish expenditure, united them, no matter what their party attachments might be in a common interest to rebel against reform, and to devise means of making it unpopular by

misrepresenting the motives of it, and provoking a clamour against it, in which the idle, the disappointed, and the malicious would be quite ready to join. "There are few enlisted on the other side," he concluded "for the subject is little understood; and practical, well-considered reform in details excites but little active sympathy in its favour."

This was not encouraging, but the Prince persevered in what he knew to be necessary for the comfort and safety of Her Majesty, and the convenience of those surrounding her. Eventually in 1843, after much consideration and lengthy correspondence, his scheme was accepted. By this the three great officers of the household, while maintaining their high positions, delegated as much of their authority as was necessary to the order, discipline, and security of the palace to the Master of the Household, who should always reside in the Court, and personally superintend its domestic arrangements, for which he would be responsible to them. From that time Her Majesty's palace became one of the best regulated royal establishments in Europe.

The office of Master of the Household had for some time been held by the Hon. Charles Murray, a son of the Earl of Dunmore, a grandson of the Duke of Hamilton, and in himself a man of singularly handsome presence, charming manner, and cultivated mind. Among other interesting incidents

in his career he became a Fellow of All Souls at the age of one-and-twenty; had John Henry Newman for his tutor at Oxford; had been a guest at the famous breakfasts of Samuel Rogers the poet; had visited Goethe at Weimar of which the poet was then Prime Minister; had corresponded with Lord Brougham; and had made a voyage to America which took fourteen weeks and two days to accomplish. On his return from a country then almost unknown to Englishmen, he became a Parliamentary candidate for Lanark and lost it by a single vote, when Lord Melbourne in the interests of whose party he had stood, offered him the post of Groom-in-Waiting to her Majesty—September 1837—which Murray only held for four months when he was appointed as Master of the Household. Generally liked by all, he was a favourite with the Queen to whose side he was sometimes summoned in the rides about Windsor that he might tell her of the wild country beyond the Atlantic. There he had joined a wandering tribe of Pawnees with whom he lived in the wilderness three months, hunting antelope and elk; there he had met Fenimore Cooper; there he had crossed the Alleghanies in the wonderful rope-railroad; and there he had met with simple kindly hospitality from one and all. Occasionally during these quiet homely evenings at Windsor he stood behind the young Queen's back, looking over her shoulder as she played draughts,

suggesting at her request what moves she should make : or carrying her chair on to the terrace on warm summer nights when she and her maids sitting in the deep shadow of the castle, while in the moonlight as in a phantasy, lay the ancient town clinging to its hill, the home park with its blurred trees lying beneath.

When by the new arrangement greater authority was given him as Master of the Household, he exercised it wisely and well. Though it was known he had left his heart behind him in America, and was absorbed by a memory, yet he was not the less a good comrade to the Maids of Honour, and was ever ready to amuse or interest them. One of his efforts in this direction is spoken of by Lady Bloomfield, in her *Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life*, where she mentions that he showed her over the plate closet, the china rooms, and the kitchen of Windsor Castle. The sight of the plate among which were cups by Benvenuto Cellini, and that in all was worth over two millions sterling, dazzled her ; but the sight of the kitchen surprised her. "The fire," she says, "was more like Nebuchadnezzar's 'burning fiery furnace' than anything else I can think of; and though there is now no company at Windsor, there were at least fifteen or twenty large joints of meat roasting. Charles Murray told me that last year they fed at dinner a hundred and thirteen thousand people. It sounds perfectly incredible ; but every day

a correct list is kept of the number of mouths fed, and this does not include the ball suppers, etc., but merely dinners."

A reformation having a wider, more public, and humane object, than that regarding the royal household was attempted by the Prince about the same time. This was the abolition of a custom sanctioned by society of men killing or attempting to kill each other in cold blood, at what was considered the dictates of honour and to avenge injuries or slights which though occasionally real, were often trivial, and sometimes imaginary. Though duelling was punishable by law, its decrees were seldom enforced. One notable case had taken place in February 1841, when the Earl of Cardigan was charged with felony, "the offence of firing with a loaded pistol at Henry Harvey Garnett Phipps Tuckett, with intent to murder him," and tried by his peers. On being brought to the Bar of the House of Lords he made them three profound reverences and then knelt till directed by the Lord High Steward to rise, and seat himself on the stool allotted to him. The indictment against Lord Cardigan, who was a colonel in the 11th Hussars, was that he had fought a duel on Wimbledon Common with Harvey Tuckett, whom he had wounded. The duel took place in the vicinity of the windmill, the owner of which Thomas Dann, a bluff, rotund, and zealous constable took the offenders into custody.

The trial in the House of Lords was an interesting dramatic performance, the last act of which was known from the first to those who took part in it ; each peer standing up in his place uncovered, and laying his hand upon his heart, declared upon his honour that Lord Cardigan was not guilty. Then the White Staff being delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to the Lord High Steward, he stood up uncovered, and holding the Staff in both hands broke it in two and declared the commission dissolved.

In the following year duels were fought between the Hon. Craven Berkeley and Captain Boldero ; and between Sir Robert Codrington and a magistrate named Stanfield ; but a duel that created a greater sensation because of the circumstances that led to it, the relationship of the antagonists, and its tragic ending, was that which was fought by Colonel Fawcett of the Fifty-fifth Regiment and Lieutenant Munro, of the Royal Horse Guards Blue, brothers-in-law and bad friends. On the evening of June 3, 1843, a dispute about property arose between them, when Colonel Fawcett ordered Munro out of his house in Sloane Street, in consequence of which he received a challenge. On the next day at five in the morning the antagonists, their seconds, and a surgeon drove to the toll-gate close by the Brecknock Arms at Camden Town, and passing it went into the adjoining fields. A few moments later Colonel Fawcett was carried back a

dying man, and expired two days later. The sensation which this duel caused, aroused the Prince to an action he had long considered, that of striving to end such so-called affairs of honour. As they chiefly took place between military men, his first step was to appeal to the Duke of Wellington to find some means of abolishing them, and to suggest that courts of honour should be established to which all disputes that otherwise would end in duels, should be submitted. This was not thought practicable. As a result of the attention called to and the indignation roused against the practice an Anti-Duelling Association was established whose members soon included among others twenty-one peers, thirteen sons of peers, sixteen members of Parliament, thirty admirals and generals, twenty-three colonels and lieutenant-colonels, seventeen majors and twenty-six captains. On becoming a member every man denounced duelling "as sinful, irrational, and contrary to the laws of God and man" and pledged himself to discountenance by influence and example so baneful a custom. Probably it was this Association, that led Her Majesty's ministers to amend the Articles of War April 1844. By them it was declared suitable to the character of honourable men "to apologise and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept frankly and cordially explanation and apologies for the same." In this way a custom that had

long tolerated the autocracy of bullies, and had frequently caused lifelong remorse and family feuds, was put an end to in this country by the humane and tactful endeavours of the Prince.

In the early part of this year 1843, news came from Kensington Palace that the Duke of Sussex was ailing. Inquiries for his health were continually made by the Queen and Prince Albert in person, though they did not anticipate that his end was near until April, on the 21st of which at seven o'clock in the morning he passed quietly away. Kindhearted and democratic to the last, he no sooner knew that he was about to quit this world than he requested his wife who had sat up with him during the three previous nights, to summon his household, when he shook hands with many of them, and said a few gasping words of farewell to all. In his will he expressed a desire that his body should be laid, not with his kindred in the royal vault at Windsor, but at Kensal Green cemetery in the Harrow Road. This request gave some concern to the Queen and consultations were held as to whether or not she should take it on herself to disregard his wishes and bury him with his family. Eventually it was decided that his eccentricity should be regarded. After lying in state in rooms hung with black and lighted with wax candles, to view which "all dressed in decent mourning" were admitted and

received at the head of the great staircase by the late Duke's giant Highlander, his remains were conveyed to Kensal Green May 3, 1843. His son Sir Augustus D'Est, drove in a private carriage that followed the State carriages of the royal family and the household of his father. It was remarked that at the solemn committal of the body, no one was so much affected as Prince Albert, to whom on his coming to England the deceased had shown unfriendly feelings.

Four days after the death of her uncle, Her Majesty gave birth to her third child the Princess Alice, April 25, 1843, at five minutes past four o'clock in the morning. Though the Queen had little regard for the King of Hanover, the elder of her two surviving uncles, she decided to pay him the compliment of asking him to stand as one of the sponsors for the Princess, at the christening which was fixed for June 2. This he accepted ; but as on the morning of that date he had not arrived, the ceremony was not postponed, and his brother the Duke of Cambridge acted as his proxy. The other sponsors were the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, as proxy for the Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha ; the Duchess of Kent as proxy for the Princess Hohenlohe Langenburg ; and the Princess Sophia Matilda. Scarcely had the luncheon which followed ended, when news was brought that the King of Hanover had landed at

Greenwich, and gone to his apartments in the Ambassador's Court, St. James's Palace. There Prince Albert waited on him. His Majesty went about town, visited his former supporters, and was on a single occasion invited to dine at Buckingham Palace.

Though assuming an air of friendliness to Prince Albert, whom he disliked and had continually disparaged, he could not restrain his real feelings towards him occasionally ; as for instance when on his asking the Prince one day to go out with him and receiving the reply that it would be impossible for them to walk in the streets because of the crowds they would attract, the King said lightly, " Oh, never mind that. I was once more unpopular than you are now, and used to walk about with perfect impunity." The Queen was not unaware of his sentiments towards her husband, and quietly but successfully checked an attempt he made to get the better of the Prince. This was at the wedding of her first cousin the Princess Augusta, eldest daughter of the Duke of Cambridge, to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, when the King intended to sign the register immediately after Her Majesty by whose side he determinedly stationed himself. But with her woman's wit she thwarted his purpose, for quickly stepping to the opposite side of the table, she had the book handed to her, signed it, and passed the pen to the Prince who also signed it, before her uncle could reach her.

Later, as Raikes tells us in his Journal, she gave him a lesson he was forced to accept without open resentment, when she gave the King of the Belgians precedence of him at a Court ceremony. Though eager to do this, she desired that it might be done in a constitutional way and consulted the Duke of Wellington as to how it might be effected, when he entering into the humour of the design suggested that the example of the Congress of Vienna should be followed, when the royal personages attending it were arranged in the alphabetical order of the countries whence they came ; and that as B for Belgium came before H for Hanover, King Leopold might take precedence of King Ernest ; which was done.

In the summer of this year the Queen paid a visit she had long desired to make to Louis Philippe, whose family was so closely allied by marriage to the house of Saxe-Coburg. Nowadays it is surprising to think of the commotion which was caused by the intention of the Sovereign to leave her dominions. William of Orange had visited his beloved Holland, as George I. and George II. and George IV. had visited Hanover ; but no English monarch had set foot on French soil for over three hundred years since Henry VIII. had visited Francis I. Whether or not the Queen could leave England without a Regency being appointed to act in her absence, became a question that was debated by the Cabinet, when the Duke of

Wellington declared she could not. Other members not agreeing with him, the matter was referred to the Crown solicitors who after some deliberation gave it as their opinion that the appointment of a Regent was not imperative. The Queen's trip across the channel was to be taken in the steam yacht which had just been built for her at Portsmouth, the keel of which was laid on the first anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Wales, while she was launched on the birthday of the Princess Alice, and named the *Victoria and Albert* by Lady Cawdor a niece of Nelson. The yacht which was designed by William Edye measured two hundred and twenty-five feet long. It was then considered "one of the most beautiful steamships that this or any other country has ever produced," though the accommodation for Her Majesty's officers was so insufficient, that two had to be packed in the one berth seven feet by five. The royal footmen had however a berth each.

Her Majesty's visit to the French King was not made to Paris, but to the Château d'Eu near Tréport, where he and his family were staying for the summer months. Louis Philippe was in himself a commonplace person unfitted for the romantic part in the stirring drama for which fate had selected him. A descendant of Louis XIV., and a son of the duc d'Orléans who was guillotined in the French Revolution, he was a true Bourbon. After his banishment from France

in 1793, he had sought to make an honest living as a mathematical teacher at a salary of two francs a day in a school at Reichenau, in Switzerland, in which country he spent three years before going to America. Three years later he came to England and lived at Twickenham for some seven years, awaiting the turn of events which suddenly favoured him in 1809, when after the fall of Napoleon he returned to Paris, and was reinstated in the immense property belonging to his family. In November of the same year he had the good fortune to marry the Princess Marie Amélie, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and lived in retirement with her in Paris, taking little part in politics during the reigns of Louis XVIII., and of his successor Charles X., the direct heirs to the French throne. When in 1830, a revolution deprived the latter of his crown, Louis Philippe, his kinsman, declared himself a republican and was elected Lieutenant-General of the Realm by the Chamber of Deputies. Subsequently he was offered the crown which he gladly accepted. As Charles X. was living, Louis Philippe was considered an usurper by the legitimists. He proved himself in the first years of his reign an able administrator mindful of the liberties of his people, and at the period of the Queen's visit maintained his popularity with them.

A numerous family had been born to him, the eldest of whom the duc d'Orléans had met with a

sudden death, July 13, 1842. Having on that date set out to meet the duchesse, the horses of his carriage took fright near the Porte Maillot, when in jumping out to save himself, his sword caught in his cloak and he fell heavily on the pavement. When taken up he was insensible, congestion of the brain set in, and he died a few hours later to the inexpressible grief of his mistress, the Comtesse d'Orsay, the neglected and youthful wife of the bejewelled and bedizened fop then receiving the adulation of London ; and to the intense sorrow of his plain but devoted wife, who with her sons was at the Château d'Eu, in the summer of 1843.

The Queen was in high spirits when with Prince Albert and their suites, which included Lord Canning, Lord Delawarr, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Liverpool, she left Windsor Castle early on the morning of August 28, 1843, for Farnborough station on her way to Southampton where the *Victoria and Albert*, commanded by Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence awaited her. Torrents of rain fell as she reached the pier where she was received by the Duke of Wellington, and the mayor and corporation. As by some oversight no carpet had been laid on the gangway leading to the yacht, the gallant members of the corporation like so many Raleighs whipped off their scarlet gowns and covered it, when laughing heartily at the incident she stepped dry-footed to her yacht.

It was not Her Majesty's intention to steam direct to France, but first to visit the Isle of Wight, and skirt the Devon coast. At Ryde she visited Lord Harcourt, and at East Cowes she went to see Norris Castle, where in her girlhood she had spent some months. Steering for Dartmouth the yacht met with a heavy swell off the Needles which caused the whole of the royal party, with the exception of Lady Canning, to keep their cabins ; but in the Portland Roads the sea was calmer, and singly or in couples they appeared on deck looking rather wan, and much inclined to rest. Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Falmouth, were visited and offered the Queen an enthusiastic welcome, the latter place nothing behind in its loyalty because the address that expressed it, was read by a Quaker mayor who kept on his hat in the Sovereign's presence. The yacht then put off for the French coast.

Her Majesty's favourite occupation during the cruise was to plait paper for bonnets which she did with great dexterity. When engaged in this way one day on deck, sitting with her Lady-in-Waiting and her Maid of Honour in a sheltered spot, they noticed as the latter (Lady Bloomfield's *Reminiscences*) relates some commotion among the crew who gathered in knots, talked in low voices with their heads together, and threw ominous glances in their direction. Presently the men were joined by one officer, and then by another who listened and talked gravely to them, until

at last the captain, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence was called and hearing them looked puzzled. At that point he was summoned by the Queen who thought it quite time she learned what was going on. In reply to her questions he laughed but confessed he did not know what might happen if Her Majesty did not move her seat. "Why should I? What harm can I be doing here?" she asked in surprise. "Well ma'am," he answered, "Your Majesty is sitting in front of the cupboard where the rum is kept, and the men can't get their grog till you move." At that the Queen laughed and declared she would move only on one condition, that she also was given a glass of grog. When this was done and she had tasted it she said, "I'm afraid I can only say I think it would be very good if it were a little stronger," a remark that delighted the crew.

As early as five o'clock on Saturday morning September 2, the *Victoria and Albert* reached Cherbourg where it was met by the Prince de Joinville and his suite who had been deputed by his royal father to welcome the entrance into French waters of the English Sovereign. The day was glorious with sunshine, the sea blue and serene. Dieppe which was passed in the afternoon shone white amidst its grey-green cliffs. Soon after Tréport was sighted, and the sound of guns firing from the English fleet that had preceded Her Majesty as well as from the French

fleet, was heard announcing her approach. Standing on the deck of her yacht the Queen dressed in a dark purple satin flounced gown, with a black mantilla, a straw bonnet with yellow ribbons and a long ostrich feather, and looking radiant and expectant, caught her first sight of the French people as they thronged the pier; the women in white frilled caps, coloured handkerchiefs and aprons, short skirts, and earrings; the men in blue blouses, flat blue caps, baggy trousers, and sabots; soldiers in uniforms new to her; and sailors not less trim than her own; a surging, picturesque, animated crowd whose hearty cheers reached her through the thunder of cannon and above the music of bands playing the English national anthem.

As she still looked, delighted by the novelty of the scene and gratified by the welcome given her, a fresh burst of cheers drew her eyes to a barge upholstered in crimson velvet, with crimson silk awning, and white muslin curtains, into which the King stepped. A few minutes later and Louis Philippe, clean shaven, florid faced, stout, and scant of breath from his ascent, climbed on board her yacht and first kissing her hand, then kissed her on both cheeks, and with evident emotion welcomed her to France. Then with equal warmth he greeted Prince Albert who stood beside her, frock-coated, with light waistcoat, grey trousers, and cross-barred cravat. Getting into the barge with him, they were quickly rowed to the jetty, at the top

of the steps of which, arranged in a semicircle, the members of the French royal family awaited them ; Queen Marie Amélie ; her eldest daughter the Queen of the Belgians ; Madame Adélaïde, the King's old sister ; the Duchesse d'Orléans ; Princesse Clémentine, and her husband Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg ; the Prince and Princesse de Joinville ; with his brothers the Ducs d'Aumale and Montpensier. With them, besides the members of their suites, were the British ambassador to the French Court, Lord Cowley, his wife and his daughter. The Queen of France stepping forward heartily greeted the English Sovereign and her consort, as did the other members of her family in turn, many of whom were already known to Queen Victoria. The hearty welcome of their French Majesties was inspired not only by affection for one connected with them by many ties of marriage, but by gratitude to a monarch who visited them when most of the European Sovereigns looked on Louis Philippe as an usurper ; and when the Czar Nicholas I. not only refused to give him the usual title of *mon frère*, but sought every opportunity of treating him with contempt. All that was possible to make Her Majesty's stay with them delightful to her, was done by her hosts.

Amid clamorous shouts of "Vive la Reine d'Angleterre" the two Queens, Louis Philippe, and Prince Albert, drove away from the jetty in a large char-à-

bancs with a canopy and curtains, drawn by twelve richly caparisoned horses, their outriders wearing glazed hats trimmed with tricolour ribbons, yellow breeches, and high boots. They were accompanied by an escort of cavalry, and were followed by similar conveyances containing other members of the party, when passing through the quaint village of Eu, with its white houses clinging to a hill surmounted by a mediæval church, they drove to the royal château, approached by a long avenue of poplar-trees, fronted by a square, and standing high-roofed, grey, and formal, amid surrounding gardens. That evening a party of forty sat down to a table heavy with plate, vases, and epergnes of gold ; Queen Victoria in a dress of crimson velvet—which she usually wore on state occasions—with the ribbon of the Garter across her breast, her hair bright brown simply plaited under a tiara of emeralds and diamonds, wondering to see her host and hostess carving, but greatly enjoying the novelty, simplicity, and joyousness of the scene.

The next morning she woke at seven o'clock to hear the ringing of distant church bells and the turning of a mill-wheel, and on going to the open window to drink in the clear sweet air, saw men working and sweeping in the garden below as if it were not Sunday. The French royal family went to Mass in the village church, but the English Sovereign not having provided herself with a chaplain was unable to attend a service.

The day was quietly spent in seeing the château which had many portraits and pictures saved during the Revolution, in visiting the private chapel which had some ancient and beautiful stained glass, and vestments that had been worked by Mademoiselle Montpensier ; in visiting the farm in which the Prince felt interested, and in driving through the country over deeply rutted roads that almost shook them to pieces. Louis Philippe had intended to entertain his guests with a concert that evening but was told in time by his daughter the Queen of the Belgians, who had visited England and had experience of the manner in which Sunday was spent there, that a concert would be considered by the English a desecration of the Sabbath day, which should be passed in decorous, yawn-provoking dulness.

The King sought to make compensation for the quietness of the day by ordering a band to play underneath Queen Victoria's rooms on the following morning. At half-past ten he and the whole of his family waited in her private drawing room to conduct her to breakfast. Then early in the afternoon, in a blaze of sunshine, the whole party drove through the deep-shaded pine-scented forest of Eu, to a cleared and elevated spot, Mont d'Orléans where under an immense tent an English lunch was laid. The simplicity of the meal was its greatest charm. Neither gold nor silver plate was used, the wine was served from bottles, the guests sat on camp-chairs or on the ground, and

were waited on sometimes by the ordinary servants and sometimes by soldiers. The clear delicious air, the blithesome sunshine, the freedom from ceremony, the high spirits of one and all made the meal delightful. Meantime the *corps de l'opéra* arrived from Paris at the Château d'Eu with the intention of giving a performance that evening ; but as they had brought only two pieces, one which ridiculed the English, and the other which was not considered proper, the entertainment was limited to the rendering of songs and symphonies from Beethoven.

Next day a visit was paid to the little church of Notre Dame, entering which the widowed Duchesse d'Orléans, touched by some association with it, was overcome, and would have left but that the Queen of the Belgians took one of her hands and the French Queen the other and led her to the high altar before which the three women prostrated themselves, and spent some moments in prayer, after which the duchesse resumed her air of calmness. Drives to various sites in the vicinity occupied the next two days, and on the third the Queen's visit ended. As early as half-past six on that bright morning, the French royal family waited for the last time on Her Majesty to conduct her to breakfast. The thought of leaving them made her sad. "They are all so kind and so delightful, so united that it does one's heart good to see it, and I

feel at home with them all, as if I were one of them," she wrote in her Journal. For the French Queen she felt a special affection, and received in turn *un sentiment maternel*. To her the young mother proudly showed the miniature portraits of her two eldest children, "Puss and the Boy," which Queen Marie Amélie greatly admiring said, "Que Dieu les bénisse, et qu'ils puissent ne jamais vous donner du chagrin." "I then," writes the English Sovereign, "expressed a wish that they might become like her children, and she said, in one thing she hoped they might, viz. 'dans leur attachement pour leurs parents. Mais ils donnent aussi du chagrin.' In saying this she looked down, her eyes filled with tears, and she added 'Enfin, ce que Dieu veut.' "

Before leaving Queen Victoria was presented by her host with two splendid pieces of Gobelins tapestry which had taken thirty years to work, together with a cabinet, ten feet high, and elaborately painted by Devilly, of beautiful Sèvres china. Then with his consort and the whole of their family they drove as they had come to Tréport, and went on board the royal yacht. Embraces were given and farewell words spoken, when a visit which Her Majesty and the Prince had greatly enjoyed came to an end. The *Victoria and Albert* left Tréport at nine o'clock and arrived at Brighton at half-past three o'clock, when the Queen hastened to the Pavilion, the fantastic residence built for George IV. where

the royal children were staying. Five days later, Her Majesty and Prince Albert set out to visit the King and Queen of the Belgians, arriving at Ostend, and afterwards seeing Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels, and returning to Woolwich September 21 (1843), as thoroughly gratified by this visit as by the former. Before the year ended the Queen visited her Prime Minister at Drayton Manor ; the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth ; and the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir ; at all of which places she was entertained magnificently.

CHAPTER V

Arrival in England of Nicholas I. of Russia—The object of his visit—Extraordinary rapidity of his journey—Buckingham Palace becomes a Tower of Babel—His Majesty's bed of straw—Remembers Kinnaird and speaks of old times—Visits Ascot Races—Review held in the Great Park—The Duke of Wellington loses his temper—To the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick—A splendid luncheon—Meets Lord Melbourne—At Covent Garden—The simplicity of an autocrat—Kind words to the Queen—Farewell to England—The King of Saxony—Birth of Prince Alfred Ernest Albert—Arrival of the Prince of Prussia and of the French King—Louis Philippe's homely simplicity—His visit to his former home at Twickenham—Repeal of the Union—Daniel O'Connell before the Dublin Corporation—His plea for his country—Meetings and their object—Lord Ffrench and Sir Edward Sugden—Action of the Irish gentry—O'Connell's letter to the Lord Chancellor—Prohibition of the Clontarf Meeting—Trial and conviction of O'Connell—The first Act of Home Rule.

CHAPTER V

MANY important and interesting events socially and politically came within Her Majesty's experience during the next few years of her reign. Among them were the visits paid to her Court by the Sovereigns of Russia, France, and Saxony, as well as by the heir-apparent to the Prussian throne. The first of these to arrive in England June 1, 1844, was Frederick Augustus II. King of Saxony, whose excellent education, supplemented by foreign travel and intercourse with distinguished men had made him the most cultured monarch in Europe. Close on his heels came the Czar Nicholas I. third son of the Emperor Paul I. who had been strangled by his nobles, and grandson of Peter III., who had suffered a similar fate. Paul had been succeeded by his eldest son Alexander I. on whose death December 1, 1825, his next brother Constantine became heir to the throne of all the Russias. But Constantine, who had married a sister of the King of the Belgians, knowing that his brutality and cruelty made him universally detested by the army and the nobility, feared to wear the Imperial crown lest

the fate of his father and his grandfather should overtake him, and therefore voluntarily resigned it to his next brother Nicholas.

This Emperor who had married the Princess Louise Charlotte, daughter of Frederick William of Prussia was now in (1844) in his forty-eighth year. Over six feet high, broad shouldered and inclined to stoutness, he was a man of handsome and imposing presence. The fierce expression of his face assumed an air of gentleness in speaking to women ; and the arbitrary tone of his manner subsided to boyish simplicity in social intercourse. Badly educated, he knew little save what concerned military and political affairs, and was narrow in his ideas and despotic as a ruler. Among other proofs of this may be cited his conversion of the kingdom of Poland into a Russian province, his efforts to extinguish its nationality ; while individually not one of his myriads of subjects could count upon a continuance of his liberty, his property, or even his life from day to day. The object of his visit to England, briefly summed, was to counteract the good impression made on the Queen by Louis Philippe whose policy he viewed with suspicion and to whom he was unfriendly ; to emulate Frederick William of Prussia in his courtesy to Her Majesty ; to come to an understanding with the English ministers regarding their policy towards Turkey of which as he said, though he did not wish to possess an inch himself he would not allow any one

else to take a portion ; and to overcome the prejudice he believed to exist against him in this country. On this latter point knowing the English hated tyranny, he remarked to the Prime Minister, "I hope to dissipate those prejudices by personal intercourse ; for I highly prize England ; but for what the French choose to say about me I care not at all—I spit upon it."

Though the Czar had long expressed a desire to pay this, his second visit to England, Baron Brunow, his minister at the Court of St. James, was under the impression that he had abandoned it to some indefinite time, until he received a telegram saying his imperial master had arrived at the Hague and would be in London twenty-four hours later. He had travelled without pause and with extraordinary rapidity from St. Petersburg to Berlin, at one of the gates of which he remained four hours rather than rouse his ambassador and his family from sleep in the middle of the night. When in the early morning he entered the ambassador's house he changed his clothes and hurried to Mass which had already begun. Making a sign to those who recognised him to remain as they were, he knelt in his tight uniform for half an hour near the entrance of the church. He then hurried to the railway station and went to the Prussian King's country palace of Sans Souci. Then having spent twenty-four hours with Frederick William, he set out on his journey to England. On definite news of his intended and

immediate visit reaching Buckingham Palace—much to the chagrin of the Queen who dreaded the consequent bustle and bother—Charles Murray, as Master of the Household, was despatched to Baron Brunow to confer with him regarding the accommodation which would be required by His Majesty and his suite. But as Brunow had left the Embassy for Greenwich where the Czar was expected to land, Charles Murray followed and found him at the Ship inn, complaining of mutton chops which were tough, of melted butter which was cold, and of unmelted butter which was hot; such small matters seeming of importance to a man's stomach while his mind was set upon the reception of a Czar. No estimate of His Majesty's suite could be given until his arrival, for which, as it must depend on tides and winds, no definite hour could be fixed. Murray went back to the palace. That night—as he relates in the brief extracts from his Journal edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell—he was waked out of his first sleep by the noise of some one walking about his room in the dark. Sitting up in bed and crying out “Who's there?” he received the ungrammatical reply “It's me” from Brunow who had come to announce that the Czar had arrived at the Russian Embassy, Ashburnham House, and to deliver an autograph letter from His Majesty to Prince Albert.

Some time later, at half-past eight in the morning, Charles Murray waited on the Prince in his dressing-

room and delivered the letter. The question then arose as to how the Czar was to be received, when after a few minutes' consideration the Prince said, "As the Emperor has thought fit to surprise us, we will pay him off with his own weapons; order round a carriage and my equerry as soon as possible." In a little while the Prince, Charles Murray, and the equerry drove in the early Sunday morning June 2, 1844, to Ashburnham House, when all ceremonies of presentation were dispensed with, and the Czar coming to the foot of the stairs, embraced Prince Albert and then led him to his private apartments. Four years previously Charles Murray had seen the Emperor at Ems, when His Imperial Majesty was riding a jackass, with the Empress by his side, and a small tail of courtiers in the rear. "Now" he writes, "he seemed to me to have gained in embonpoint and to have lost some hair from the top of his head, but was still a noble, princely looking man of six feet three inches, and every inch a king." The Master of the Household had little time to notice what passed during the remainder of the day, all his energy being devoted in striving to make twenty servants who could speak neither French, English, nor German, understand the Groom of the Chambers and his assistants, as to the locality of the rooms assigned their respective masters.

What actually happened was that on Prince Albert leaving the Czar the latter went to Mass at the

Embassy chapel in Welbeck Street, together with his suite which included Count Orloff, an illegitimate grandson of that favourite of Catherine the Great who had helped to place her on the throne. Later the Emperor and his attendants drove in the royal carriages sent to convey him to Buckingham palace, in the great hall of which he was met by the Queen, whose hand he kissed, and whose kiss on the cheek he bent down to receive. Luncheon followed, and the afternoon was spent by him in visiting various members of the royal family. In the evening he was present at a banquet at which among others he met Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. Returning to sleep at the Embassy, he was up early next morning and had a long interview with the Prime Minister, and bought snuff-boxes and jewellery, amounting to five thousand pounds from Mortimer and Hunt's, before he departed by the Great Western Railway for Slough where he was met by Prince Albert, who with the Queen and the King of Saxony had left town for Windsor that forenoon.

Charles Murray tells us in his *Journal* that on this day, June 2, the Castle was transformed into a Tower of Babel, the Emperor having brought in his suite ten more servants than Count Orloff had already mentioned. "All these fellows," says the Master of the Household, "wanted to have rooms close to their master's; and when some of them found that they

could not be lodged in the Castle, and others that they would be a hundred yards distant, they spluttered and swore and jabbered in every discordant dialect of the Lithuanian and Slavonic tongues. After preparing a grand state bed for the Emperor, we were shown by his first valet a great sack seven feet long by four broad, which we were requested to fill with clean straw, that being the only bed on which his imperial limbs ever reposed. Half a dozen of His Majesty's servants bivouacked in a large adjoining room which was fortunately unoccupied, where they spread on the floor one hundred and fifty packages and slept among them, some serving for beds and others for pillows according to their size and shape."

The Queen had appointed Lord Hardwicke, Lieutenant-Colonel Berkeley Drummond, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wylde, to wait on the Czar ; the Government had ordered a body of private police to guard him ; and the Master of the Household had selected one of Her Majesty's pages named Kinnaird, to stand behind his chair at meals and act as his personal attendant. When half an hour after his arrival at the Castle, Nicholas with the Queen on his arm entered the luncheon room, he immediately fixed his glittering eyes on the man standing statue-like behind the chair placed for him, and who twenty-seven years previously he had as his attendant when as Grand Duke he had visited England. Instantly he said, "I remember you very

As one devoted above all things to military matters, the Czar was keenly interested in the review held in the Great Park. The weather was again glorious and as early as eleven o'clock the royal party filed out under George the Fourth's Gate, and down the Long Walk ; the Queen with the Duchess of Cambridge and the Duchess of Buccleuch in the first carriage ; the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal with their preceptress in the second ; a brilliant suite in the succeeding five ; while Prince Albert, the Czar, his Saxon Majesty, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Londonderry, and a number of officers of high rank all in uniform were on horseback. Thousands of people, most of whom had come from London, greeted the royal party as they entered the ground where the review was to be held, and where were assembled troops of the Grenadier, Coldstream, Scots Fusiliers, Life, and Horse Guards Blue, together with the Seventeenth Lancers, the Royal Horse and Field Artillery, about four thousand men in all under the command of Lord Combermere. As the Czar looked critically at the condition and bearing of the stalwart well disciplined men forming glittering lines, the Queen—who knew he was in the habit of reviewing a hundred thousand men, and of seeing fifteen thousand mount guard every day—leaning forward said to him he must think the number of her troops very few, to which he gallantly replied that she must

consider his troops as much at her disposal as they were at his own.

The heat, dust, and glitter, were great but were enjoyed by all. Nothing could equal the enthusiasm of the crowd when the Commander-in-Chief, the venerable Duke of Wellington, thin as a ghastly warrior, his features keen and set, his figure slightly bent, rode at the head of his regiment past the Queen and the Czar. Acting on a gallant impulse Nicholas rode up to and seized him by the hand in the midst of wild acclamations. The scene of that day must have stirred the blood in the old warrior's heart, but unfortunately it was not without a drawback to him. As the Queen who was then in a delicate condition disliked hearing the discharge of guns, she had ordered that they were not to be fired until she had left the ground; but by some mistake on the part of an aide-de-camp a contrary order was given, when to her horror the artillery advanced and fired close to her carriage. The Duke was furious, swore lustily, and would not be pacified though Her Majesty, the Emperor, and the Prince, strove to soothe him. When the latter pointed out that what had happened was merely by a mistake, he burst out, "It is very good of your Royal Highness to excuse it, but there should be no mistakes; military orders should be punctually obeyed, and by God so long as I command the army they shall be obeyed." "The Emperor" says Charles

Murray, "was astonished, and the suites looked at each other with blank faces, while the artillery were ordered off the manœuvring ground."

Two days later the Court returned to Buckingham Palace, and on the following Saturday the Czar, the Prince, and the King of Saxony with their respective suites drove in open carriages, attended by a detachment of Lancers, to Chiswick to attend a fête given at his Italian villa by the Duke of Devonshire. Again a sunny day favoured the Czar who passed along roads bordered by orchards, market-gardens, and spreading fields, and through the village of Chiswick with its ancient church and houses, in all showing signs of prosperity, peace, and freedom unknown to his own dominions. Just before two o'clock the Lancers with helmets and pennons glittering in the sun rode up the avenue of the Duke's residence, on whose lawns were assembled some eight hundred persons including the most famous statesmen, the most beautiful women, the most distinguished poets, authors, and artists, of the day. As the Emperor reached the principal entrance he was met by the Duke, while a band played the Russian national anthem, and the Russian standard was hoisted on a flag staff. A splendid lunch was served in a room fitted up with his arms and ensigns, but here as at all other meals this man of giant stature and massive build showed his habitual self-restraint by eating most sparingly and drinking

no wine. The meal ended, he came out on the lawn, where standing in the midst of a semicircle, people were presented to him, to one and all of whom he spoke with smiling friendliness. In none did he seem more interested than in Lord Melbourne, who since his retirement from office was not often a guest of Her Majesty's and whom the Emperor now met for the first time. Holding the statesman by the hand he thanked him for coming there and giving him an opportunity of making his acquaintance. That evening while at dinner he spoke to the Queen of the delight the fête had given him and of his pleasure at meeting her former Prime Minister, for whom he felt a great esteem adding "All who serve Your Majesty are dear to me."

A few hours after he had said this both Sovereigns were on their way to Covent Garden Theatre. Their visit was not one of state and their arrival was rather late. The house recognising the Queen and her visitor, there was an unanimous call at the end of the first act for the national anthem, and the whole corps dramatique came forward and sang it, all present remaining standing the while. The Queen came forward at the conclusion and bowed in acknowledgment; after which the orchestra struck up the Russian national anthem when she led forward the Emperor who first bowing to the mass of people turned towards him, afterwards took Her Majesty's hand, bowed over

and kissed it, which evoked thunderous applause. That was the last evening he was to spend in England. "C'est malheureusement la dernière soirée, où je jouis des bontés de Votre Majesté ; mais le souvenir en sera éternellement gravé sur mon cœur. Je ne vous reverrai probablement pas," he said. To this, as she mentions in her Journal, the Queen said he could easily come to England again. He replied sadly "Vous savez comme c'est difficile pour nous de faire de telles choses ; mais je vous recommande mes enfants."

Her Majesty was impressed by the simplicity of an autocrat who declared he felt embarrassed when people were presented to him, and who felt awkward in evening dress to which he was unaccustomed, and that on the last two evenings at the royal dinner-table he discarded for his customary military uniform. Nor was she the less disposed to like him for the affection he showed her children, and his appreciation of Prince Albert of whom he said "Il est impossible de voir un plus joli garçon ; il a l'air si noble et si bon." To the Prince himself he expressed the highest compliment possible for him to imagine, when he hoped that one day they might fight side by side on the field of battle.

On Sunday afternoon June 9, 1844, Buckingham Palace was in a state of confusion, Cossacks, whiskered Uhlans and other members of His Majesty's suite packing, swearing, and quarrelling, while conveyances for immense piles of luggage, and carriages for the

suite filled the great quadrangle. Already the Czar had asked that a memorandum of the presents made by the King of Prussia might be furnished to him. These were surpassed in generosity by him, for he not only gave magnificent rings and gold snuff-boxes with his portrait set in diamonds to various members of the household, but he presented fifteen hundred pounds to the Ascot race fund for prizes, five hundred pounds each to the Nelson and the Wellington monuments, and a thousand pounds to the fund for Distressed Foreigners.

At five o'clock that afternoon the Queen, the Prince, and the two eldest royal children, with the household waited in the Small Drawing-room to say farewell to the Czar. Presently, as Her Majesty says in her Journal, he entered and with signs of emotion that banished all traces of harshness from his face, said: "*Je pars d'ici, Madame, le cœur gros, et pénétré de vos bontés pour moi. Vous pouvez être sûre, Madame, de pouvoir compter sur moi en tous temps comme votre plus dévoué serviteur. Que Dieu vous bénisse.*" He kissed her hand and received her kiss on his cheek, bade an affectionate good-bye to the children, and turned to leave. In spite of his protest that the Queen should not conduct him to the great hall, she took his arm and went down the grand staircase with him followed by the Court. There he again kissed her hand and that of the Duchess of Buccleuch,

shook hands with the Ladies-in-Waiting as well as with the great officers of state, and then entered the carriage in which until it drove away, he stood uncovered bowing to the Queen.

The Prince drove with him to Woolwich where he was received by Lord Hardwicke and the dock-yard authorities. There he got on board the *Black Eagle*, one of the royal squadron which was to carry him to Ostend. As she moved from the landing-stage a Russian jumped on board carrying a great bundle of fresh straw for his imperial master's bed. The Emperor stood on the bridge and waved a last farewell to the Prince, and so ended his enjoyable visit. The King of Saxony remained a week longer. He gave but little trouble to his royal hostess, for unassuming, and quiet, he was absent from the palace the greater part of every day, while "plainly dressed in blue," he visited picture galleries, museums, churches, the growing Houses of Parliament, public buildings, and felt delighted with all he saw. It was also his last visit to England, for just ten years later he was thrown from his carriage and killed.

He had not left England many days when another visitor who had been for some time expected, made his appearance. On the morning of August 6, 1844, Her Majesty who was then at Windsor, remembering that an important public document had been forwarded for her signature the previous night, with the in-

timation that the royal assent need not be given until the following day, sent for it and separately signed its seven pages in her usual firm manner. This was done by the Sovereign knowing that her accouchement was imminent, and in order that public business might not be delayed by her illness. Three hours later her second son and fourth child, afterwards baptized Alfred Ernest Albert, was born. The birth of this Prince and the strain of the recent festivities at Court, led the Queen to desire a holiday, for preference in Scotland. In this wish she was joined by Prince Albert, who had not only shared the burden of entertaining their guests, but who having of late been much occupied with State affairs, was now frequently observed to look pale and exhausted.

But before they could put their intention into action, another royal visitor had to be entertained though for a brief time, and with less ceremony than his predecessors at Court. This was Prince William of Prussia, brother of Frederick William IV., who as the latter had no children was heir-apparent to the Prussian throne. Born March 22, 1797, he had in his seventh year donned the uniform of the famous regiment now known as the Red Hussars, and eleven years later had begun his career as a soldier when he took part in the campaign against the first Napoleon, 1814. It is a noticeable fact that his last campaign was also directed against France when in 1871, he made

its Emperor his prisoner. This Prince, who subsequently became the First German Emperor, had married in 1829 the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Weimar ; and at this time 1844, was father of Prince Frederick, who was destined to become the husband of the little rosy-cheeked Princess Royal then in her nursery. Prince William reached England August 13, 1844, and took up his residence at the Prussian Embassy previous to visiting Windsor. Later with Baron Bunsen he set out for a tour during which he visited various towns in England and Scotland, and was entertained by the Dukes of Wellington, Devonshire, and Rutland, Lord Aberdeen, and Sir Robert Peel. Intelligent and inquisitive he was eager to see everything of interest and insatiable in questioning all with whom he came in contact, whose opinions he thought worth hearing. It is probable that no reply impressed him more than that made by the Duke of Wellington as to what he considered most necessary to the well-being of the army. "I know," said the old warrior, "nothing more important than closely to attend to the comfort of the soldier ; let him be well clothed, sheltered, and fed. How should he fight poor fellow, if besides risking his life, he has to struggle with unnecessary hardships ? Also he must not if it can be helped, be struck by the balls before he is fairly in action. One ought to look sharp after the young officers, and be very indulgent to the soldier."

Bunsen tells us that Prince William conceived a great affection for England, and admired her greatness, "which he perceives to be a consequence of her political and religious institutions."

Shortly after his departure from England the Queen and the Prince with the Princess Royal set out for Scotland, September 9, starting from Woolwich in the *Victoria and Albert*, and reaching Dundee two days later. Passing through Dunkeld, the royal party arrived at Blair Castle, where they lived as privately as the curiosity of the people permitted, and where rides and excursions were continually made—when the weather allowed. Her Majesty left Scotland October 1, and returned to Windsor where preparations were being made to receive Louis Philippe. This visit was important as being that of the first and only French monarch who had visited England with peaceful intentions; and was welcomed by the whole nation. The King with his son the Duc de Montpensier, together with a numerous suite which included his Prime Minister Guizot, left Tréport on Monday October 5, 1844, and arrived at Portsmouth next day where he was received with the lowering and hoisting of flags, the manning of yards, the firing of guns from the great warships, including Nelson's *Victory*, and welcomed by Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington.

The simplicity, and delight of the citizen King

won the admiration of all. On being presented by the mayor and corporation with an address, he shook hands with each member and when some of them unprepared for that honour, hastened to put on their white gloves, he said, "Oh never mind your gloves gentlemen." In reply to that address he spoke of the time when he had lived in England, and had been pained by the feuds existing between that country and his own, a feeling it would be his endeavour not to have repeated; and referred to the pleasure it gave him to visit a land where he had formerly received such kindness. When asked by the Recorder for a copy of his speech for preservation, he answered that he had no copy, that his words came straight from his heart. Taking the train to Farnborough he was driven thence to Windsor, where the Queen, the Duchess of Kent, Sir Robert Peel, and the members of the household were waiting to receive him. At the sound of his escort clattering into the quadrangle, the Queen rushed down, her maids of honour tripping behind her, to the entrance where she was just in time to see the carriage containing her royal visitor arrive at the great entrance. At sight of Her Majesty, beaming with pleasant welcome, the King doffed his hat exposing his grey locks to the winds, and remaining uncovered, descended and embraced her with every show of affection, saying "Combien de plaisir j'ai de vous embrasser." As she led him up the grand

staircase to his apartments he paused to exclaim, "Dieu comme c'est beau"; and later he wandered unceremoniously from bust to statue, from picture to cabinet examining everything and declaring himself enchanted with all he saw. In the same unaffected way he spoke of the days when he had taught mathematics in a Swiss school where he had to clean his own boots, and when his salary was just two francs a day, which he had been glad to receive.

During his stay he expressed a wish to visit the house at Twickenham where he formerly lived and which was now occupied by Lord Mornington. The Queen went with him driving through Staines, and was amused at his directing the postillions as to how they should reach his former habitation. Arrived there he showed great interest in the house, and walked around the garden—sodden from a heavy shower that had just fallen—recalling the days he had spent in this place thirty years before, when the idea of his becoming monarch of France was as far removed from his mind, as was at that moment the knowledge that in a few years he would flee in disguise from his subjects. From Twickenham the Queen drove with him to Hampton Court Palace over which they went seeing the historic rooms and famous portraits with great interest; and after which they went to Claremont where they lunched with the Queen Adelaide. On the following day Her Majesty invested him with the

Order of the Garter, Prince Albert placing the Garter round His Majesty's leg. "I pulled it through while the Admonition was being read" writes the Queen in her Journal, "and the King said to me 'Je voudrais baiser cette main,' which he did afterwards, and I embraced him. The Duke of Cambridge assisted me in placing the riband over the King's shoulder, after which I embraced him again, and he embraced Albert." During his visit he endeared himself to this royal hostess not only by his simplicity, his receptivity, his affection, but most of all by his appreciation of Prince Albert. "Oh, il fera merveille ; il est si sage ; il ne se presse pas ; il gagne tant à être connu ; il vous donnera toujours de bons conseils. Ne croyez pas que je vous dis cela pour vous flatter. Non, non. Cela vient du cœur," he said, as Her Majesty proudly writes in her Journal.

On the morning of his departure, Monday, October 12, 1844, he spoke of the intense pleasure his visit had given him, and his regret that it had come to an end. The Queen and Prince Albert went with him to Portsmouth, whence they intended to cross to the Isle of Wight, but torrents of rain fell from a threatening sky, a violent gale blew inland, and the waves were as mountains. Dreading to cross in such a sea, and fearing it would be impossible to land at Tréport, it was arranged that the King should

return to France by Dover and Calais, which he did while Her Majesty and the Prince waited on board their yacht for calmer weather.

At this period of Her Majesty's reign three matters in which she was acutely interested, roused public feeling throughout the kingdom. These were Repeal of the Union ; the Corn Laws ; and the Maynooth Grant ; which in the repetition of history may be said to be with us in the present day under the names of Home Rule ; Free Trade ; and the Irish Catholic University. In April 1840, the Repeal Association had been founded by Daniel O'Connell who a descendant on the maternal side of a Cromwellian settler, was destined to struggle and to obtain for Catholics the social and political rights which had been denied them for over three hundred years. Emerging from the bitter and prolonged fight which had just ended in victory, he then endeavoured to gain for his country the privilege of self-government. Owing to his engagements in Parliament his association made little progress and attracted small attention for three years, until as an Alderman of the Dublin Corporation he gave notice of a motion to present a Petition to Parliament for the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

On Tuesday February 25, 1843, this motion was brought forward before the Dublin Corporation, and became the subject of debate for three days. A man

near six feet in height, erect, though now approaching his seventieth year, with a round face of extraordinary mobility, and an eye that flashed with keen intelligence, he stood before a hushed and crowded audience, and in a speech that lasted four hours, calmly stated his reasons for desiring repeal. Concisely stated these were ; that because of her position, population, and natural advantages, Ireland was fitted for legislative independence ; that her Parliament was as ancient as the Parliament of England, had sprung from the rights of freemen, and did not owe its charter to the British Crown ; that as the Irish Parliament had been a delegated power from the people, it had no authority to transfer the making of its laws to others ; that therefore the Union was not binding on the country ; that statistics could plainly prove the Union had been effected by the basest corruption, over a million sterling having been spent in buying bribes, a million and a quarter in securing the interests of those who held pocket boroughs, while twenty peerages, ten bishoprics, one Chief Justiceship, and six puisne Judgeships rewarded men who voted for the Union ; that seven hundred thousand persons including wealthy merchants, cautious bankers, and large manufacturers, had petitioned Parliament against the Union ; though the meetings at which such signatures were obtained, were frequently dispersed at the point of the bayonet, while only three thousand signatures in favour of the Union could

be obtained by all the arts that wilery and bribery could use.

Forestalling the objections sometimes made to a national Parliament, he asked what evidence had Irish Catholics ever given of desiring ascendancy. "Since the Reformation they had three times been restored to power, and it was admitted by Protestant historians that they had never persecuted a single individual. In an Irish Parliament nine tenths or nineteen twentieths of the Peers would be Protestants ; and a large body of the Commons." The result of the Union, he added, had been disastrous to Ireland, which suffered not only from inadequate representation in the English Parliament, but in the corporations which governed her cities ; for it had imposed upon the country through the tax collector, an inordinate share of the public burden ; had filled its government and executive offices from the highest to the lowest with Englishmen and Scotchmen ; had closed its factories and mills, and had left unemployed its skilled labour ; had left its harbours empty ; had caused its nobility to become absentees, and brought about a universal depression of trade. Finally he said that though Cromwell had abolished the House of Commons in England, it had been restored when the King came unto his own ; and in the same manner though the Irish Parliament had been illegally taken from the people, it could and would be restored to them.

It is strange to think that the man who opposed O'Connell's motion, Isaac Butt, was later to devote the best part of his life to pleading in the English Parliament, under the name of Home Rule, the cause which he now combated. O'Connell's motion was supported by forty-five votes against fifteen.

From that moment the Repeal agitation awoke to a vigorous life and became a great national movement. Almost every corporation throughout the country followed the example of its Dublin prototype, in passing a motion to present a petition to Parliament demanding a national legislature. Nearly the whole of the Irish Catholic hierarchy with their priests, a few Irish peers, The O'Connor Don the lineal descendant of the last King of Ireland, a group of Ulster Protestants, many magistrates, an immense number of merchants, and the entire body of the people of three provinces, became members of the association. The public subscription to maintain it, or as it was called the Repeal Rent, bounded from two hundred and thirty-nine pounds the week following the debate, to six hundred and eighty-three pounds in the first week of the following May ; while the sum subscribed for the first year amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred pounds. Immense support to the movement was given by a group of high-spirited, brilliant, and indefatigable young men, many of them Protestants, who in October 15, 1842, had founded the Nation

newspaper the object of which was, as its motto declared, "To create and foster public opinion in Ireland and make it racy of the soil" ; these acted as able lieutenants to O'Connell.

With their aid the immense body of the association was regulated with the discipline of an army. This could not have been effected without the marvellous influence exercised by the preaching of temperance by a Franciscan friar named Father Mathew. In their sobriety lay their strength.

In 1843, O'Connell travelled five thousand miles in Ireland for the purpose of holding meetings. These were everywhere attended by thousands of enthusiastic but peaceable people. All Ireland had been indeed organised with a restraint and harmony that contradicted the scoff that the Irish people were incapable of self-government. Repeal police were instituted, Courts of Arbitration were opened, and a Head Pacificator was appointed. At all meetings a quotation from a speech made from the throne by William IV., in recognising the independence of Belgium, was prominently displayed on walls and banners which said, "It is the undoubted right of every people to manage their own affairs."

A born orator whose eloquence was strung by sincerity, capable of moving his hearers to his moods, trenchant in his arguments, humorous, sarcastic, and versatile, O'Connell in a voice sweet as music,

advocated Repeal of the Union by legislative measures. Shrinking from violence, at almost every meeting he gave expression to his favourite mottoes, such as "He who commits a crime adds strength to the enemy"; or "No political change whatsoever is worth the shedding of a drop of blood." He also let it be known that he had a chivalrous admiration that was almost a romantic devotion to his Sovereign—no matter what he might think or say of her ministers. The greatest of his meetings was held on the historic hill of Tara, August 15, 1843, when it was estimated that a quarter of a million persons were present. Some months previously, the Government had become alarmed by the demand made by a peaceful and determined people for self-legislation. Lord de Grey, Lord Ripon's brother then Viceroy of Ireland, and notorious for his favour to Orangeism, in writing to the Prime Minister, May 6, 1843, tells him that the Repeal meetings are enormous and most formidable, that every hour was adding fatal strength to the danger, and asks him, "Is this a state of things that can be allowed to go on?" Three weeks later Sir Edward Sugden, an English lawyer who had been made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, told him the gravity of the movement could hardly be overrated. "The peaceable demeanour of the assembled multitudes is one of the most alarming symptoms," he declared. His lordship who on his own authority had dismissed

from the Bench several magistrates who were Repealers, among them Lord Ffrench, lectured the latter on the public meetings, which notwithstanding his opinion of their peacefulness as expressed in his private letter to Peel, he now stated had "an inevitable tendency to outrage." He also took the liberty of introducing the Sovereign's name in a statement that said, "Her Majesty has determined to prevent the Repeal of the Union."

The letter to Lord Ffrench in which the Chancellor expressed his views, had some unforeseen effects. One was that, indignant that the son of an English barber should lecture an Irish peer, seven Justices of the Peace including Lord Cloncurry, none of whom was a Repealer, resigned their commissions. A second was that about twenty members of the junior Bar, immediately joined the association as a protest against the arbitrary and unconstitutional behaviour of the Chancellor. A third was that the Repeal Rent reached the sum of two thousand two hundred pounds in the week following Lord Ffrench's dismissal. A fourth was that the Government was harassed by inconvenient questions in Parliament relative to Sugden's action, so that the Home Secretary wrote to Peel telling him that it was "better to undeceive Sugden and to let him know and feel that his letter to Lord Ffrench is not the most perfect and unexceptional performance the world ever saw." In communicating with the

Chancellor, Peel said that if he (Sugden) had thought the Repeal meetings were dangerous to the public peace, he should have given preliminary warnings to the magistrates not to attend them ; and that the declaration of Her Majesty was not what he had stated but was "that she would do all in her power to maintain the Union as the bond of connection between the two countries."

A letter of a different character received by the Chancellor and written by O'Connell is given in the *Peel Papers*, ably edited by Mr. Charles Stuart Parker. In this O'Connell told him that on the restoration of the Irish Parliament—an event he thought not remote—he would move for an impeachment of his lordship for presuming to interfere with the subjects' right to petition Parliament, an act that endangered the stability of the throne and the security of the connection between the two countries. With reference to his assertion regarding the Queen, it had filled him with utter and inexpressible astonishment. "You must know," he continued, "and indeed I much fear you must have known when you made that assertion, that it was utterly unfounded in fact. Sir Robert Peel has himself admitted the falsity of that statement. Her Majesty, whom the people of Ireland affectionately revere, has made no such declaration, and indeed I must say it enhances the criminality of the Lord Chancellor that he has permitted the putting forward

under the sanction of his high name, of a statement so injurious to Her Majesty, and one so strongly tending in itself to expose her to the hatred (if that were possible) of her brave, loyal, and attached people of Ireland."

Meetings to petition for Repeal continued to be held, against the legality of which no action could be taken by the Government, though it had sent thirty-five thousand soldiers across the channel to join those already stationed there. Nor did a single breach of the peace offer an excuse for suppressing them. But what had not occurred incidentally might be provoked. A monster meeting was advertised to be held at Clontarf, close to Dublin, on Sunday October 3, 1843. Though the widest publicity was given to notices of the meeting, it was not until the afternoon of the previous day that it was suddenly prohibited by the Government, at an hour when thousands of excited people were flocking by every road to Clontarf with the intention of camping there for the night, and that unknown to them was guarded at all its approaches by soldiery. If the intention was to provoke an assault, to spill blood, and eternally to discredit the movement, it was disappointed by the heroic action of O'Connell. On hearing that the meeting was proscribed, he instantly sent mounted messengers right and left to tell the people that the gathering would not be held, and to beg them in his name to return in peace. For the

remainder of the day his personal influence was exerted to its limit in pacifying the more stormy spirits of his party, and in entreating them to abide by the law. A week later he and his chief colleagues were arrested on a charge of creating discontent and disaffection among Her Majesty's liege subjects "by means of intimidation and the demonstration of physical force, to procure and effect changes to be made in the government, laws, and constitution of the realm." Fearing that news of their idol's arrest would rouse an excitable people to revolt, O'Connell immediately issued a manifesto commanding them "not to be tempted to break the peace, but to act peaceably, quietly, and legally."

The question that had been asked by the *Times*—which less malignant to him than to another Irish leader, as to "how long shall such a wretch be tolerated among civilised men"; as well as the hope expressed by the Home Secretary (*Peel Papers* October 25, 1843) that "I should wish to meet Parliament with O'Connell convicted and in prison" were now to be answered. His trial did not begin until January 15, 1844, and was conducted by Chief Justice Pennefather, and Judges Burton, Crampton, and Perrin. No doubt of its result was entertained. Though over twenty Catholics were proposed for the jury list, all of them were objected to, so that not a single person of that creed was permitted to serve on the jury; an

action that later was to receive the condemnation of Judge Denman, who condemning the manner in which the jury had been selected declared that "if such practices were allowed, trial by jury would become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." The trial lasted twenty-five days at the end of which the Chief Justice summed up the case in what was virtually a speech for the prosecution, and that was compared by Macaulay to "the displays of judicial partisanship in the state trials of Charles I." O'Connell was declared guilty but sentence was deferred. This travesty of justice amazed Europe and was resented by a vast number of English people who considered that it blemished the reputation of their nation for its love of fair play. To remove this stigma from themselves, the inhabitants of Liverpool, Manchester, Coventry, and Birmingham, through which towns he passed on his way to London immediately after the trial, received him enthusiastically ; while on his entering the House of Commons he was greeted with ringing cheers, and was given a banquet held in Covent Garden Theatre.

On May 20, 1844, judgment was given when he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, fined two thousand pounds, and bound in his own recognisances in the sum of five thousand pounds, and two sureties in two thousand five hundred pounds, to keep the peace for seven years. As a convict the foremost

man of his race was sent to Richmond Bridewell, where during the fourteen weeks he remained there, the disease from which he was soon to die fastened on him. At the end of that time, September 4, 1844, the House of Lords reversed the judgment delivered in Ireland and he was liberated. From this blow the Repeal Association never recovered. Exhausted by disease, advanced in years, swamped by debt, prostrated by the death of relatives, and disappointed that the more impatient spirits of his party known as the Young Irelanders had seceded from him to advocate forcible resistance to the Government, O'Connell was no longer able to advocate the repeal of the Union ; and in this way the curtain fell upon the first act of the great political drama of Home Rule.

CHAPTER VI

The endowment of Maynooth College—Views of the Queen and Prince Albert—Wild cry of "No Popery" Sir Robert Peel as Judas Iscariot—His impeachment demanded—The *Times* leads the Press—The Remonstrant Synod of Ulster—The King of Hanover is shocked—The Established Church in the greatest jeopardy—Her Majesty thinks people must open their eyes—Repeal of the Corn Laws—Lord Melbourne at the royal table—"Ma'am, it's a damned dishonest act"—Starving Ireland—Peel wishes to remove the duties on wheat—Cabinet meetings—The Queen on the taxation of food—The Prime Minister resigns—Her Majesty is surprised—Lord John Russell is sent for—Prince Albert becomes identified with the Queen—Lord John is exacting—Agrees to form a Government—Violent disagreements with his colleagues—Resigns the post of Prime Minister—The Queen is secretly delighted—She sends for Peel—At Windsor—The passing of the Corn Law Bill—Crime in Ireland—O'Connell's appearance in the House of Commons—Inopportune time for the royal visit to Ireland—Fulfills a long-desired visit to Germany—Her Majesty's delight—The one drawback—Common civility required—Visiting Coburg—In the Castle of Rosenau—A time of perfect happiness—Calls on Louis Philippe before returning home—The royal children at Osborne—Birth of the Princess Helena.

CHAPTER VI

ONE effect of the agitation for Repeal was to induce Peel to make some concession to Ireland which would help to pacify her people. "We can prevent the carrying of Repeal by force," he wrote to Sir Henry Hardinge (*Peel Papers*). "But we cannot by mere force—by mere appeals to selfish Protestant ascendancy principles—govern Ireland in a manner in which a civilised country ought to be governed." The chief concession he desired to make was to grant an additional sum to that already given by the Government to Maynooth College. During the Revolution the colleges in France had been suppressed. To these in their day had flocked the Irish students destined for the priesthood, who by the penal laws were deprived of such seminaries in their own land. Later to provide for their education the Irish Parliament in 1795 had voted a sum of eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight pounds, which at the Union was continued though not without bitter opposition and wrangling that annually roused sectarian prejudice. For more than twelve months previous

to Peel's introduction of a Bill to endow Maynooth, his intention had been known to the Cabinet, and its delay in being brought forward was chiefly owing to Gladstone—who as President of the Board of Trade was one of its members—as he considered his support of such a measure as a minister (which he later voted for as a private member) was inconsistent with opinions he had expressed in a book on the Church and State, and as he said, against his “deeply cherished predilections.” Her Majesty, who in September 1841, had written to the Prime Minister to say she was “certain that toleration and forbearance will have the best effect upon the people of Ireland” (*Peel Papers*) warmly approved of Peel's intention. So did Prince Albert, who in February 1844, on returning a private memorandum relative to Maynooth to the Prime Minister, regretted he was unable to carry out his intentions, and stated that the Queen joined him in hoping that he might soon be able to overcome the difficulties that then stood in his way. The greatest of these was removed when Gladstone resigned office in January 1845. On April 3 following Sir Robert introduced a Bill for a permanent endowment of twenty-six thousand a year, and a grant of thirty thousand pounds for building purposes to Maynooth College.

That he should endow a college for the education of ministers of a religion professed by the vast majority

of the people of Ireland, which had a university richly endowed for the education of ministers of the minority, seemed an intolerable injustice to the mass of English people. Immediately a wild cry of "No Popery" arose throughout the land. Immense meetings were held all over the country in which Peel was generally referred to as Judas Iscariot, and at which it was asserted it was his secret intention to undermine the British constitution and make it the slave of Rome. Petitions were laid upon the table of the House of Commons demanding the impeachment of such a traitor. The *Times*, as Charles Greville states, "in a series of articles as mischievous as malignity could make them, and by far the most disgraceful that ever appeared on a political subject in any public journal," led the Press in its appeal to the basest sectarian prejudices. The Orangemen, as Macaulay put it, raised a war-whoop. The Carlton Club was "in a state of insurrection," and echoed with sound and fury. London headed by its Lord Mayor sent in a petition against the Bill; an example which was followed by almost every city, town, and village in England and Scotland, so that three thousand petitions bearing a million and a quarter signatures, protesting against the measure were presented to Parliament. By far the largest number of these had been signed by English Dissenters and Scotch Presbyterians who seemingly forgot that their religious liberty had been

won for them by the help of the Catholic party. An exception to the protest against endowing "the priests of Baal" was that of the Methodists of Barnstaple, who sturdily petitioned Parliament not to grant public money to the universities or schools of England, unless the College at Maynooth were allowed its share in such bounty. Still more unexpectedly the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster mindful of what it owed to its co-religionists, petitioned in favour of the Bill.

By one who closely watched the affairs of England and confidently predicted her downfall, who boldly commented on the Queen and spat his hatred on the Prince in language which cannot be repeated, not only the Bill, but the recognition as such of the Archbishop of Armagh by the Sovereign, was regarded with horror. This was the King of Hanover, who in a letter written to John Wilson Croker dated January 5, 1845, expressed the intolerance felt by many of his generation. In this he says: "We are living in the most extraordinary and strange times; and already I see that many of those things which I had prophesied in 1804, have come to pass. Still one circumstance has come to my knowledge which I learned to-day by the public prints that arrived from England, which has not only shocked me but disgusted me beyond all measure, and proves to me that ere long you will see the Host publicly carried in procession down

St. James's Street, Pall Mall, etc., namely a consideration given at the Privy Council wherein the Catholic Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, is publicly so recognised by Queen Victoria in Council. Is not this contrary to an Act of Parliament ? Altogether our Established Church seems to be in the greatest jeopardy and when a house is divided against itself it must soon fall to pieces. . . . I remain firm to my own principles and gave the clearest proof of this by dismissing out of my service my minister at the Court of Berlin, upon finding out he had become clandestinely a Papist ; and this naturally made the Protestants look up to me for support."

The Queen and the Prince attentively read the angry debates that followed the introduction of the Bill. The former wrote to Peel, April 9, hoping he did not feel uneasy about the result, for "the measure is so great and good a one, that people must open their eyes and will not oppose it." Again, in a note written to him six days later Her Majesty says, "It is not honourable to Protestantism to see the bad and violent and bigoted passions displayed at this moment." Later still she was delighted to tell him that on her visit to the theatre there was not a single cry of "No Popery" to be heard inside or outside the house. The Bill on which Peel had concentrated all his efforts and for which he suffered violent abuse passed its third reading in the Commons

by a majority of one hundred and thirty-three, May 21, 1845.

Another Bill in which the Queen was deeply interested was the repeal of the Corn Laws, which had been advocated by Richard Cobden at the head of a large and influential body for some years. To remove the duties then imposed on the import and export of corn and flour, was considered by many as essential to the country's prosperity, while others declared that the passing of such a measure would be the death blow to England's greatness. Among those who held the latter view was Lord Melbourne, who in speaking of the repeal to Her Majesty—who was known to favour free trade—and while sitting beside her at dinner said, "Ma'am, its a damned dishonest act." The Queen laughed and tried to quiet him but he repeated, "I say again it is a very dishonest act," much to the amazement of those around, whose attention became absorbed in their plates which seemed to present some amusing spectacle. Sir Robert Peel had at one time shared Lord Melbourne's views, but these ultimately underwent a change. To this he was brought by seeing the failure of the chief argument for protection; that Great Britain by the cultivation of its land should provide sufficient food for its people, and be independent of foreign supplies.

The impossibility of this faced him when a sudden blight fell upon acres and miles of potato fields in

Ireland, and turned them to wildernesses of putrefying vegetation, desolate to sight and almost intolerable to smell. Of the population of Ireland which in 1845, numbered eight millions, one half at least depended for support on the potato. To them its failure meant starvation. The blight first appeared in this year in the early days of August. With frantic effort the people dug and dug beneath the rotting malodorous stalks, hoping the disease had not extended to the tubers ; but every stroke of the spade brought despair closer to their hearts. In the south and west the whole land from its barren and melancholy hills to its wild sea coasts, lay desolate, sodden by merciless rain, doomed. The calamity had fallen so swiftly that no provision could be made for the poorer peasants who had no grain crops, and therefore as autumn darkly advanced were left without food.

Meantime in October, Peel decided that one way to relieve the famished people was to remove the duties from all articles of human food, so that wheat and maize might be freely brought into the country to feed them. To vote sums of money for their sustenance, and to continue to tax their food, he considered as preposterous. When he put these ideas before a Cabinet meeting, November 1, 1845, they met with opposition. The Queen heard of the disagreement among her ministers with concern, and expressed her regret that it should exist at a time when all should

unite in striving to remedy the existing evil. A few days later she expressed her opinion that the time had come when a removal of the restrictions on the importation of food could not be successfully resisted. While debates on the corn laws were being continued by the Cabinet, the Prime Minister was endeavouring to stem the wave of misfortune that threatened to swamp Ireland. At the instance of Dr. Lyon Playfair the eminent chemist, and Professor Lindley the botanist, experiments were employed to dry the potatoes in limekilns, but as it afterwards proved without success ; and commissions with powers of spending money on drainage and other works to relieve the general distress, were appointed. But as yet the heavy duties which prevented grain from being sent into the country were not repealed ; and as the Prime Minister was unable to obtain the agreement of his colleagues to abolish them, he placed his resignation in Her Majesty's hands. As she had written to him on the previous day saying that she felt sure that whatever the causes of the difference in the Cabinet, he would not leave her at a moment of such difficulty, and when a crisis was impending, she was surprised at his action. But deeply as she regretted having to part with him, there was no alternative left but to accept his suggestion of sending for Lord John Russell and entrusting him with the formation of a Government.

As Lord John was at Edinburgh he was not able to

obey the royal summons until the 11th, when he declared himself unable to form a ministry until he had consulted his party. Political circles were seething with excitement and suspense, the clubs buzzed with sensational rumours, bets were made as to future office holders, and meetings were held at Lord John's house. On the 13th he and Lord Lansdowne went to Windsor. They were struck, according to Greville, by the manner of their reception and the change that had taken place since they went out of office, for then the Queen had alone received and communicated with her ministers, while now Prince Albert sat beside her, took part in the deliberations, while both indicated their agreement in saying "we think" or "we fear," etc. "The Prince" says the Clerk of the Council, "is become so identified with the Queen that they are one person, and as he likes business, it is obvious that while she has the title he is really discharging the functions of the Sovereign. He is King to all intents and purposes." Those who had opportunities of closer intercourse with the royal circle than Lord John Russell or Mr. Greville, did not share their surprise at the position accorded to the Prince by Her Majesty; which apart from her deep affection for him, he had won by his tact, his knowledge of mankind, moderation, grasp of business, and general ability.

These qualities were now needed in guiding the Sovereign through a crisis. Before accepting office

Lord John desired an assurance that Peel's dissenting colleagues would not undertake to form a Government. He could attempt such a task only if proof were given him that no other party was willing to do so. On being guaranteed that no such action would be taken by them, he next wished to know if Peel would oppose immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws by proposing a temporary suspension of them. For days letter carriers flew backwards and forwards between Windsor and London, Peel considering that "in the present state of affairs erroneous inferences might be drawn were he to wait personally on her Majesty." An answer to the last query was sufficiently satisfactory to Lord John to induce him to form a Government, and he agreed to accept office as Prime Minister on December 19. At a meeting of his friends and colleagues which took place on the following day, such violent disagreements occurred between them, that on the following morning he hastened to Windsor and placed the resignation of the office he had just accepted in Her Majesty's hands. The Queen who was much surprised and secretly delighted, received him graciously, listened to his explanations with interest, thanked him for his exertions, applauded his resolution, and sent for Peel. When the latter presented himself before her on the afternoon of December 20, the Sovereign warmly welcomed him and said, "So far from taking leave of you Sir Robert, I must require you to with-

draw your resignation and to remain in my service." He at once assured her he should feel it his duty if required by Her Majesty to resume office, which greatly pleased her. Having spent two hours in conversation with the Queen and the Prince he left the Castle at four, and at half-past nine the same evening met his colleagues in Downing Street and announced to them that whether they supported him or not, he would introduce a Corn Law Bill such as public exigencies required. Only one of them resigned, Lord Stanley who had been Colonial Secretary, a post that was then given to Gladstone.

On January 27, 1846, Sir Robert Peel in a great and memorable speech proposed the repeal of the Corn Laws before a crowded and excited House, Prince Albert being one of his most interested hearers. During the months that followed the Prince and the Queen eagerly read the debates and watched the temper of the House of Commons. In expressing her anxiety that all would go well, Her Majesty added, February 11, that though she said little her anxiety was very great, and from time to time she despatched notes to the Prime Minister praising his speeches and encouraging him in his efforts. It was not until June 25, 1846, that the Bill repealing the Corn Laws was carried in the House of Lords. On the same evening a dramatic incident happened. Tortured by hunger and appalled by death, the Irish people had thrown aside restrictions

of law and order, and in some districts rose against those whom they regarded as their oppressors. Threatening letters to bailiffs and landlords had been followed by attempts upon their lives ; highway robberies, hitherto almost unknown in this country, became frequent ; houses were broken into and robbed ; and great disorder prevailed. To restore it Lord St. Germain, Chief Secretary for Ireland, had introduced a Coercion Bill which would give the Lord-Lieutenant power to proclaim certain disturbed districts, to apprehend persons out of their houses between sunset and sunrise, and to make provision out of the rates for the families of persons murdered.

At one of the debates upon this Bill, O'Connell spoke. Drawn from his house at Derrynane, where failing health had forced him to seek rest, he had crossed the Channel and appeared in the House only at the urgent call of duty. Already he was within reach of the grave. The failure, disappointment, weariness, and depression, that darken the days of almost every man who has striven to benefit his fellows, had left their mark upon him. The once muscular body had shrunk under its brown and shabby coat ; the rubicund, round, cheery face had become pale and haggard, and looked ghastly for its contrast with his red-brown wig ; but above all the clear resonant voice that formerly had roused or quelled the spirits of thousands, was sunk almost to a whisper

that could barely be heard by those around him. Friends and foes regarded him with sympathy, each realising that time and circumstance might bring a like condition to himself, and all assumed an attitude of respectful attention to one who was presumably addressing them for the last time. Making an heroic effort he spoke for two hours, the whole burden of his speech being that the outrages in Ireland were the result of physical suffering ; that such evils could not be remedied by the infliction of harsh treatment to those already distracted by starvation ; and that the only Coercion Act required was one that would coerce the landlord to do his duty.

It was on this Bill that—on the same evening (June 25, 1846) that the Corn Law Bill became law—the Government was defeated by a majority of seventy-three, mainly owing to the efforts of Disraeli, who was determined to overthrow his former leader Sir Robert Peel. The latter, weary of long-continued struggle, pale, and amazed at the desertion of many of his followers, heard this sentence that dismissed him from office, for ever as it proved, without moving a muscle of his rigid face, without reproach or reproof save what the glitter of his eyes conveyed. A few days later he resigned and was succeeded by Lord John Russell. Her Majesty expressed her deep concern at losing the valuable services of her minister, and assured him that “in whatever position Sir Robert

Peel might be, we shall ever look on him as a kind and true friend."

The chief social events in Her Majesty's life, while these political incidents were taking place, may be said to have been her visits abroad. Writing to Lord Heytesbury who succeeded Lord De Grey as Viceroy of Ireland, Sir Robert Peel said (April 21, 1845), that the Queen and the Prince considered they could not with propriety visit any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, until they had first been to Ireland. He added: "Their leaning manifestly is—should there be no political impediment in the way—in favour of a visit to Ireland at the close of the autumn." Rumour of this intention was received with delight in Ireland; and in May the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin personally presented an address to the Sovereign in which she was assured that "her Irish subjects should not be exceeded in the true and hearty welcome which with united voice should hail her landing on their shores." To this Her Majesty replied: "Whenever I may be enabled to receive in Ireland the promised welcome, I shall rely with confidence on the loyalty and affection of my faithful subjects." Before the autumn of that year the failure of the potato crop and the misery which followed in Ireland, led her ministers to think it an inopportune time for a royal visit to that country. Instead she put a long-desired wish into action by visiting Germany. Sailing from

Woolwich in the royal yacht, accompanied by Prince Albert, and attended by Lord Aberdeen and a numerous suite, she reached Antwerp the following afternoon. From there they went by train to Malines where they were met by the King and Queen of the Belgians who went with them to Aix-la-Chapelle. Here they were received by the King of Prussia and his brother Prince William ; who accompanied them to Cologne where they were welcomed with enthusiasm and sprinkled with Eau de Cologne, as were also the streets by order of the authorities, which was probably considered necessary to the pleasure of the royal progress through the city. They then went to the royal castle of Brühl where they were received in state by the Queen, the Princess of Prussia, the Archduke Frederick of Austria, and other distinguished personages. The palace was illuminated with torches and lamps, and a military band numbering five hundred musicians played "God Save the Queen" in a more excellent way, Her Majesty declared, than she had ever heard it before.

While here visits were paid to Bonn at whose university Prince Albert had spent some time and where they saw the unveiling of a statue of Beethoven ; to Cologne to see from the deck of a steamer, and in torrents of rain, the illumination of its cathedral, bridges, and quays ; to Coblenz by water on a day of fleeting sunshine and heavy showers. The Queen was

delighted to hear German spoken by every one around her and was enthusiastic over all she saw. There was but one drawback to her pleasure, that her husband who she said "ought to be and is above me in everything really," was not accorded equal precedence with herself. Speaking of this visit years later, in a memorandum printed in Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Her Majesty said : "The King of Prussia would not give place to the Queen's husband, which common civility required, because of the presence of an Archduke, the third son of an uncle of the reigning Emperor of Austria, who would not give the *pas*, and whom the King would not offend. The only legal position in Europe, according to international law, which the husband of the Queen of England enjoyed, was that of a younger brother of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and this merely because the English law did not know of him. This is derogatory to the dignity of the Crown of England." It was probably because she felt hurt by this treatment of the Prince, that she showed her pleasure when the Prussian King, after first proposing her health at a banquet added "and that of her illustrious Consort." At those words she rose and with tears in her eyes kissed His Majesty on the cheek, and then resumed her seat with a beaming countenance. Before leaving Brühl she gave five hundred pounds towards the completion of the Cologne Cathedral ; hearing of which Frederick

William, becoming anxious lest such a donation to a Catholic Church might have a bad effect with the majority of her subjects, spoke of it to Prince Albert who answered lightly, "That doesn't concern us, the responsible minister (Aberdeen) is here," "a state of composure" says Bunsen, "which astonished the King."

Under a leaden sky and in a steady downpour of rain the Queen left Brühl on the morning of August 14, and with her royal host and hostess embarked on the steam yacht *König* which carried them up the Rhine to Coblenz. During the passage a deafening report of guns that were re-echoed by the hills was kept up. "Above a thousand shots were fired as a royal salute," says Bunsen proudly, "every one must have felt overwhelmed. Lord Aberdeen was greatly affected." According to the *Annual Register*, "Her Majesty seemed to have shared the disappointment felt by most of her loving subjects at the first view of these celebrated scenes, and drew a comparison much to their disparagement with the scenery of Scotland; but as each successive castle-crowned crag burst upon the sight, hesitation gave way to the most unqualified delight and approbation." That night and during the following day of drenching rain, the Queen stayed at the royal palace of Stoltzenfels, and then set out for Coburg where she was met by Duke Ernest, Prince Albert's brother, and by his subjects in

their Sunday dresses, the women in pointed caps and with many petticoats, the men in leather breeches, the girls in green and white. The Queen began, as she writes, to feel "greatly moved—agitated indeed in coming near the Coburg frontier" and was with difficulty able to restrain her emotion.

The King and Queen of the Belgians had met her on her way to the Ducal Palace, in the hall of which she was welcomed by the Duchess of Kent, the Duchess and Dowager-Duchess of Coburg, and a crowd of relatives. "The staircase was full of cousins. It was an affecting but exquisite moment." Both here and elsewhere the mass of royal personages who stream in from all sides, was considered somewhat oppressive by Prince Albert, but the Queen's affection for her German relatives welcomed them heartily. During her stay at Coburg, the Castle of Rosenau close to the Ducal residence, had been prepared for her accommodation. Here she occupied the room in which Prince Albert had been born. Her happiness on awakening next morning and finding herself in the Prince's birth-place, was "like a beautiful dream." While here grey skies gave place to brilliant sunshine, the harvest was in full swing, and the land laughed with joy. Every day excursions were made and drives were taken ; in the evening visits to the Coburg theatre were paid ; but the highest festival was kept on the Prince's birthday, August 26, "the finest and warmest and

brightest summer day imaginable," which was ushered in by choral singing under his window. A fête at which peasants in gala dress sang and danced followed ; a family dinner was given at noon ; and the evening ended with a fancy dress ball. The next day the Queen and the Prince left Coburg to take their way slowly homewards, not without deep regret. "I have a feeling for our dear little Germany, which I cannot describe," wrote Her Majesty. "I felt it at Rosenau so much. It is a something which touches me so, and which goes to my heart and makes me inclined to cry. I have never felt at any other place that sort of pensive pleasure and peace which I felt there. I fear I almost like it too much."

Before returning to England the Queen paid a second visit to Tréport, where Louis Philippe and his family were staying. As the tide was low the royal yacht was unable to put into port ; but the King with one of his sons, his Prime Minister, and his suite, putting off in a barge, were enabled to greet the Queen and the Prince on board their yacht, and to convey them towards the shore in the same conveyance. As the tide had fallen still lower, a difficulty arose as to their landing, the water being too shallow to allow a boat to float ; and it was not until His Majesty suggested that they should get into a bathing-box which could be wheeled over the shelving sands, that it was solved. Much amused at this mode of

conveyance, the royal party landed. Her Majesty's stay on French soil was brief, for by six o'clock the following afternoon she left for home ; the sea calm as a lake and the sky cloudless and azure save to the west where the sun had begun to set in a blaze of gold. Next day the royal yacht reached Osborne, where during the previous autumn Her Majesty had bought Osborne House and the estate attached to it. As this dwelling was not sufficiently large to suit the royal requirements, she decided to rebuild it. The first stone of the new dwelling was laid June 23, 1845. A portion of the old house was at this time occupied by the royal children, who "looking like roses, so well and so fat," clamorously welcomed their parents. To these was added on May 25, 1846, the Princess Helena Augusta Victoria, the Queen's third daughter. The sponsors were the Duchess of Kent—proxy for the Duchess of Orleans—the Duchess of Cambridge, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The christening did not take place until July 25, at Buckingham Palace. A state banquet celebrated the occasion at which princes, ambassadors, politicians etc. were present. This was followed by a brilliant party.

CHAPTER VII

Lord John Russell commissioned to form a Government—Character and talents—Marriage at the age of forty-three—"The Widow's Mite"—Lord Palmerston the typical English gentleman—Disagreements with the Queen—Suitors for Her Spanish Majesty—Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg—The balance of power—Palmerston's despatch—Intrigues of Louis Philippe The Queen's letter—Anger of the King—Isabel is married to Don Francisco—Its results—Louis Philippe and the Revolution—Terror of His Majesty Abdication—The Duchesse d'Orléans in the Chamber of Deputies—A terrible scene—"They are coming to mob me"—Flying to England—Arrival at Newhaven—At Claremont—Waited on by Prince Albert—Louis Philippe talks of his adventures—Poverty of the royal family of France—Lady Georgiana Fullerton visits the French Queen—The starvation of Ireland—Dying in their mountains and glens—Descriptions of the Rev. Frederick Trench—Terrible sufferings of the people—In Schull and Skibbereen—Hundreds of clamorous beggars—Three thousand families in need of a breakfast—Bundles of skin and bone—Three hundred thousand perish—First endeavours of the Government—Set to useless labour—Feeding them on "Peel's brimstone"—The noble example of the Society of Friends—Her Majesty's letter—Contributions from all countries—Other associations for collecting money—Distributing meal—Going to America—O'Connell is dying—A broken-hearted man—Goes abroad—His death at Genoa—Comment of Thomas Carlyle.

CHAPTER VII

AS already stated the Queen had on June 28, 1846, commissioned Lord John Russell, the third son of the sixth Duke of Bedford, to form a new Government. This descendant of one of the great historic houses of England was wholly undistinguished in appearance. A seven months' child born August 18, 1792, he was small in stature, of weak constitution, and rather rickety in gait. A large head accentuated his puny frame ; a formal and pompous manner gave him an air of superciliousness rather than of dignity. His youth had been of that exemplary type that develops into priggishness, and begets a confidence in self that remains unshared by others. How far this quality impressed his contemporaries may be judged from a saying of Sydney Smith, that Lord John would perform an operation, build St. Paul's, or assume—with or without ten minutes' notice—the command of the channel fleet, “and no one would discover by his manner that the patient had died, the church tumbled down, and the channel fleet been knocked to atoms.”

His talents as a politician were mediocre, his oratory stilted, he possessed little insight, had no inspiration, looked darkly on humour, was full of personal feelings, petty antipathies, and was not innocent of envy. The absence of manly and generous qualities was not compensated for by the sound information he had laboriously acquired, and by the noble sentiments that swelled his narrow chest. With the correctness and order of a well oiled machine he went through his daily duties. He rose each morning at the same second, attended punctually to his meals and never allowed business to interfere with his daily exercise. He refused on principle to work after dinner that he might devote the evening to reading profitable works to his subdued wife. While on Sundays he donned a solemn air and a sombre suit as if in mourning for his neighbours' delinquencies. Lord John was not a man to marry on the impulse of youth, and had almost reached his forty-third birthday before he undertook so important a step. The circumstances of his wooing are characteristic of the individual. While visiting Conversation Sharp at Torquay, he continually called, in company with a friend, Miss Kinnaird, on a visitor who was staying at an hotel there, Lady Ribblesdale, widow of the second earl of that title, and mother of four children. One bright morning he paid his customary visit with Miss Kinnaird, to whom on his way back he suddenly said, "I have left

my umbrella at the hotel" ; to which with a twinkle in her eye she replied, "Then I advise you to go back immediately, for it may rain." "Certainly," said solemn Lord John. On returning to the hotel he found his umbrella and a wife.

No intimation of his engagement was given to his family with whom he was on such friendly terms as his frigid nature permitted, until they had heard it from strangers ; and though they were unacquainted with Lady Ribblesdale he made no effort to introduce them to her. His eldest brother Lord Tavistock, in writing to him said he had heard from their father of the engagement, "but we treated the report lightly, never having heard you speak of her" ; while his sister-in-law Lady William Russell, in writing to her "Dear Johnnikins" jestingly tells him she had heard of it six months previously, the news having come from one who "is not a Scotchwoman and has not the gift of second sight. So I am saved the trouble and emotion of surprise. My boys are very much astonished, and the little ones will not believe in the four children. That is a joke, they are sure." When eventually he told the news to his father, the Duke invited him to spend his honeymoon at Woburn Abbey. The marriage took place at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, April 11, 1835. After the manner of small men, Lord John had selected a tall wife ; and from that time he became known to his

friends as "the Widow's Mite." Of this marriage two daughters were born, the second on October 21, 1838. Eleven days later Lady John died from fever. Within three years the sombre widower married a second time, July 20, 1841, his bride being Lady Frances Elliot, daughter of the second Lord Minto, who bore him three sons and a daughter. On becoming Prime Minister, Lord John was in his fifty-fourth year.

A man who played a part not less important than Lord John in the stormy time during which they held office, was Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston. Differing in all ways from his methodical, cautious, narrow, and frigid chief, Palmerston was a big handsome man who met the world with a jovial face. Simple in his habits, loving life, interested in sports, a breeder and trainer of horses, frank and generous in disposition, hating ostentation and loving pluck, incapable of malice, extravagant, and peremptory in manner, and with that sense of humour that so frequently produced his proverbially hearty laughter, he may be said to be the ideal type of the English gentleman of his period. It is remarkable that a man who was to become so prominent a figure in Parliament, made four attempts before he succeeded in entering it. In 1807 when in his twenty-third year he was returned for Newtown, Isle of Wight, and two years later was made Under Secretary for War. In 1830 he became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, an

office he held for the following eleven years with the exception of four months during the Peel Administration. His experiences in the Foreign Office, the undoubted ability he had shown in conducting its delicate and difficult business, his definite views of its responsibilities and its claims, led him in fulfilling his duties to maintain an independence to the Sovereign and to acknowledge submission only to Parliament, which had caused friction between him and Her Majesty's immediate predecessor. Disagreements between him and the Queen were to prove more formidable.

Palmerston was not only known to her officially as one of her ministers, but she had come into social relations with him when on her visit to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth in 1843, he had formed one of the house party. Though he had married Lord Melbourne's sister, the widow of Earl Cowper, the friendship which the Sovereign extended to him had its well marked limits. For this there was cause, as previous to the date mentioned, he had in dealing with the Eastern Question in 1840, taken a course opposed to the sympathies and wishes of the Queen and Prince Albert, and firmly maintained it. Though the success of his policy, which gained a triumph for England, must have gratified Her Majesty, it did not prevent her from resenting his action in disregarding, if not denying, the Sovereign's right of personal

intervention in matters of State. From that time a conflict, understood if unacknowledged, existed between Palmerston and the Queen and Prince Albert. This was chiefly regarding the business of the Foreign Office, in which it will be remembered they took special interest and that they regarded as their special province in the business of the realm. The Queen and Prince Albert were not alone in their desire to see another minister hold the post of Foreign Secretary. Many of Palmerston's colleagues while acknowledging his undoubted ability, feared lest his autocratic spirit, his independence, his impulse and his prejudices towards France might precipitately plunge England into situations she was unprepared for. One of these who had served with him in the Melbourne Ministry, Lord Grey, had declined to join a Cabinet which included him under Lord John Russell's leadership; a refusal that had prevented the latter from forming a Government in 1845. As Lord John thought Lord Palmerston was "the person in the United Kingdom best fitted for that department," in which the Queen though disagreeing with him acquiesced. The post was offered to and accepted by him in the Government formed July, 1846.

It had scarcely been constructed before complications arose in which Palmerston largely figured, and that endangered the friendly relations between England and France. These complications were due to the

Spanish marriages ; the story of which has been told in detail in *The Romance of Royalty*, and must be briefly stated here. Isabel of Spain—who with Maria Pia of Portugal, and Victoria of England were the three female Sovereigns then reigning—had in 1846, when in her sixteenth year, come to what was considered a marriageable age. As the balance of power in Europe depended on the nationality of her future husband, her selection was jealously watched by its rulers, and by none with more interest and fear than by Louis Philippe. In the hope of strengthening his influence in Spain, it was his urgent desire that one of his sons should become the consort of Isabel ; but as he knew that this project would be opposed by England, he apparently abandoned it. Among other suitors proposed for the young Queen, who had no voice in the selection of a husband, was Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, first cousin of Prince Albert, and brother of the King Consort of Portugal. This was in turn opposed by Louis Philippe. Though it was natural that the Queen and Prince Albert should wish to see their kinsman on the throne of Spain, they prudently refrained from urging the English Government to negotiate a marriage that was unwelcome to the French monarch.

During Queen Victoria's visits to Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu, a verbal understanding was arrived at between the English and French Sovereigns

that the latter would not sanction the marriage of one of his sons with Isabel. At the same time he admitted a desire that the youngest of them, the Duc de Montpensier, should become the husband of Isabel's sister the Infanta Fernanda ; but he agreed that this should not take place until Isabel had married and become the mother of children ; so that there might be no probability of his son eventually becoming King Consort of Spain. In return he was assured that the English Government would not urge or support the candidature of Prince Leopold for Isabel's hand. Louis Philippe then declared he would be satisfied if her choice fell upon a member of the Bourbon family ; to which the English Government replied that though it did not recognise the right of France to limit the Spanish monarch's selection of a husband to any particular family, it would feel satisfied if her consort were a Bourbon prince, so long as he was not heir to the French throne.

Two princes who were included in this catalogue were Don Francisco de Assisi and his brother Don Enrique, sons of the Duc de Cadiz, and first cousin of Isabel. The elder then in his twenty-fifth year was a puny effeminate person with a squeaky voice, sleek hair, mincing ways, and most amiable manners ; while his brother was a brawling, hair-brained, masterful, daring sailor, whose opposition to the Government had led

to his banishment from Spain. Ardent in temperament, delighting in fun, impulsive and unconventional Isabel—a girl of heavy build, with large amorous eyes, full lips, and round fleshy chin—looked with horror at being mated to such an effete supercilious and pretty little man as Don Francisco. But neither her sympathies nor her antipathies regarding her marriage were considered by her mother, Queen Christina the Regent; an imperious and unscrupulous woman who within a few months of her royal husband's death had secretly married a common soldier Fernando Muñoz, for the provision of whose children she was at this moment engaging in financial transactions that later caused her to be branded by the people as a robber.

For a time Christina favoured the project of marrying Isabel to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who in point of age and religion was suitable as a consort; but on entering into private communication on the subject with his family she had been assured, that after much consideration they believed it would be wiser for the young Queen to marry a Spanish prince. Ultimately a decision regarding Isabel's marriage was brought about by a letter written by Palmerston to Henry Bulwer, the English minister at the Spanish Court, though such action was far removed from the intention or desire of the writer. In this, dated from the Foreign Office July 19, 1846, Palmerston said the British Government was not

prepared to give any active support to the pretensions of any of the princes who were candidates for the hand of Isabel ; neither did it feel called upon to make any objection to any of them. "The choice of a husband for the Queen of an independent country," he continued, "is obviously a matter with which the Governments of other countries are not entitled to interfere, unless there should be a probability that the choice would fall upon some prince so directly belonging to the reigning family of some powerful foreign State, that he would be likely to connect the policy of the country of his adoption with the policy of the country of his birth, in a manner that would be injurious to the balance of power, and dangerous to the interests of other States. But there is no person of this description among those who are now named as candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain ; those candidates being reduced to three namely, the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and the two sons of the Duc de Cadiz. As between the three candidates above mentioned, Her Majesty's Government have only to express their sincere wish that the choice may fall upon the one who may be the most likely to secure the happiness of the Queen, and to promote the welfare of the Spanish nation."

A copy of this letter was handed to Jarnac, the French ambassador in England, with permission to forward it if he wished to Louis Philippe. No sooner

had His Majesty seen it than he declared the mention of Prince Leopold's name was an indication of the imminent intention of the English Government to place him on the Spanish throne as King Consort. As a prince of that house was already the consort of the Queen of England, and another the consort of the Queen of Portugal, Louis Philippe argued that to have a third the consort of the Queen of Spain, would be to draw these countries into a friendship that would exclude the influence and interests of France. He also affected to consider that the opinion expressed in Palmerston's despatch entirely relieved him from keeping the promises he had voluntarily made Queen Victoria at the Château d'Eu. "My present impression is that we must return blow for blow," he wrote to Guizot his Prime Minister. This decision he did not make known to the English Sovereign or her ministers ; but secretly and expeditiously entered into negotiations with Christina for the marriage of Isabel with Francisco de Assisi, and of her sister the Infanta, with his fifth son the Duc de Montpensier. If, as it was believed, this union of the Spanish Queen would be childless, the offspring of the French prince would become heirs to the throne of Spain.

Unaware of its effects the English Government continued to forward its opinions and desires to Spain on the marriage of Isabel. With regard to one of these, Charles Greville mentions as an illustration of

Palmerston's high-handed dealings, that having penned a despatch of great importance regarding the royal alliance and the Progressista party to Henry Bulwer ; he sent it to Lord John Russell requesting him to read and immediately return it that it might be forwarded without delay. It happened to reach the Prime Minister on a Sunday morning as he was about to set out for church. Shocked that the solemnity of the Sabbath day should be disturbed by such mundane matters, Lord John kept the paper for his consideration until a more fitting time. On returning it he said it should by no means be sent before it was seen by the Queen to whom he despatched it. When two days later Her Majesty returned the paper, it contained many comments and objections. "Her letter was remarkably well written and all the objections concisely but ably put," says Greville, "and it exhibited a very correct knowledge of the state of parties in Spain. The consequence of the Queen's letter was that Lord John Russell assembled Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, and Clarendon at his house where they discussed the matter for two hours and finally agreed on a letter to be written in place of that which Palmerston had first composed. It was divided into two parts and two separate despatches. Though they did not separate until past twelve at night, Palmerston rewrote these despatches before he went to bed, and the next morning they were again sent to the Queen who

returned them with her approbation." On Greville expressing surprise that Her Majesty should take such a serious and prominent part in public business, Lord Clarendon who related the incident mentioned, said the Baroness Lehzen had told him Her Majesty kept a journal in which she entered everything remarkable that came under her notice, with her own observations and thoughts ; and that after every important debate she consulted all the newspapers, and taking what appeared to her the best reports of the most remarkable speeches, she made a *précis* from them of the whole.

On the marriage of Isabel being arranged by her mother and Louis Philippe, alternate threats and persuasions were used to gain her consent to it. With tears and sobs she protested against taking a husband whom she ridiculed and despised ; and then miserable and sullen agreed to a union which it is probable she intended from the first should not hamper her inclinations. The date selected for the announcement of the engagement of the Queen and her sister was August 28 (1846), when the English Sovereign and her Foreign Minister were yachting off the south coast, and most of the Cabinet were taking holidays abroad ; so that no immediate protest against it could be made by the English Government. The letter in which it was officially announced by the French ambassador in London to Lord Palmerston, was received by the

latter at Penzance. To Her Majesty and Prince Albert the news came as a shock.

That the man to whom she had been the first Sovereign to extend a friendly recognition, who had expressed such attachment to herself, such cordiality towards England, should break his word to and deceive her, was a disappointment. Prince Albert also felt aggrieved ; for having sacrificed his personal wishes for the advancement of his cousin Prince Leopold, to political interests, he was wounded to think that Louis Philippe should in return take advantage of such generosity to secure his own selfish ends. But neither the Queen nor the Prince allowed any personal feeling to influence the larger interests of peace between England and France, and were careful to restrain all expression of the resentment they naturally felt ; an example not followed by the Press, which did not conceal its contempt for, or stint its abuse of, the French monarch. To write to the English Sovereign that he might boldly avow his action and make such explanations as were possible, was a straightforward act not to be expected from a man capable of such cunning. Instead he employed his consort Marie Amélie to communicate the news to the Queen. In writing, the French Queen assumed the tone of one who imparted tidings of a domestic event certain to meet with congratulation rather than of one who announced a political move

of the utmost importance. Dating from Neuilly, September 8, 1846, her letter said :

“MADAME,

“Relying on that friendship of which Your Majesty has given us so many proofs, and on the kind interest which you have always shown towards all our children, I hasten to announce to you that a marriage has been concluded between our son Montpensier and the Infanta Louise Fernanda. This family event overwhelms us with joy, because we hope that it will ensure the happiness of our dear son, and that we shall find in the Infanta one daughter the more as good, as amiable as those who have preceded her, and who will add to our domestic happiness, the only true happiness in the world, which you Madame so fully appreciate. I ask you, by anticipation, for your friendship for our new child, feeling sure that she will participate in those sentiments of devotion and affection which we all feel for you, for Prince Albert, and for all your dear family.”

The simplicity of this note received its crowning touch when the royal writer added that she was charged by the King to give his kind regards to the Prince Albert whom he hoped had received the two dozen of peaches sent him. An answer was sent by Queen Victoria on the following day from

Osborne. Both letters appeared in the *Revue Retrospective* and were afterwards published in Baron Stockmar's *Memoirs*. That of the English Sovereign said :

“MADAME,

“I have just received Your Majesty's letter of the 8th inst., and I hasten to thank you for it. You will perhaps remember what passed at Eu between the King and myself; you are aware of the importance which I have always attached to the maintenance of our cordial understanding, and the zeal with which I have laboured towards this end. You have no doubt been informed that we refused to arrange the marriage between the Queen of Spain and our cousin Leopold (which the two Queens had eagerly desired) solely with the object of not departing from a course which would be more agreeable to the King, although we could not regard the course as the best. You will therefore easily understand that the sudden announcement of this double marriage could not fail to cause us surprise and very keen regret. I crave your pardon Madame for speaking to you of politics at a time like this, but I am glad that I can say for myself that I have always been sincere with you. Begging you to present my respectful regards to the King, I am Madame, Your Majesty's most devoted sister and friend,

“VICTORIA R.”



From an engraving.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

In speaking to Lord Clarendon of the effect of this letter on Louis Philippe, the Queen said, "I don't think he will be much pleased with my answer"; nor was he, for it plainly showed him that he had alienated the friendship of a Sovereign which was most valuable to him. Days and nights were laboriously spent by him in composing a letter addressed to his daughter the Queen of the Belgians, but meant for Queen Victoria, in which he accused the English Government of breaking faith with him by the reference made to Prince Leopold, in Palmerston's letter of July 19, and complained that the English Sovereign looked on the affair through the eyes of her Foreign Minister. This brought a cutting reply from Her Majesty, in which after plainly stating that Louis Philippe had broken his pledge, she pertinently asked, "If the King entertained doubts of our integrity, why did he not try to have them cleared away before acting as he has done? What good in speaking of the *entente cordiale*, if no trouble is taken to arrive at an understanding when difficulties arise?" She added that to state that Lord Palmerston's letter had violated the agreement made at Eu, was to distort facts, and she could not admit that the King was released from his pledge. These plain words made Louis Philippe more fully realise the mistake he had made. When in Paris in January 1847, Charles Greville was told

by Madame de Lieven, that the King was very angry with Queen Victoria for having said he had broken his word, and never would be reconciled to her till she had withdrawn that accusation. "I said," writes Greville, "that between his word and hers I could not for a moment doubt ; and that I suspected he would have a long time to wait if he did so till she withdrew the charge she had made." An estrangement followed between the Courts of England and France which terminated in a manner that at this time would have seemed incredible.

On October 10, 1846, the date on which the Queen of Spain reached her sixteenth birthday, she was married to her cousin Don Francisco, while her sister the Infanta Fernanda was at the same time united to the Duc de Montpensier. The success of this scheme on which the French monarch secretly and heartily congratulated himself, proved disastrous to all concerned in it. Scarcely had he been six weeks married when the King Consort quitted the Court to take up his residence at El Pardo, leaving the Queen to continue uninterruptedly the first of those intrigues which were to become the amazement and scandal of Europe. It is true that he was brought back by the Government and reinstated in the palace in the hope that his presence there might give a semblance of respectability to the Court ; and it is also true that he remained there an unobtrusive, an

interested, a philosophic, and a polite observer of his wife's indiscriminate adventures, shared by grandees, soldiers, poets, opera-singers, authors, actors, statesmen, and an ex-cook. Her Majesty gave birth to five children, in this way disappointing the ambition of the Duc de Montpensier, who suffered further when during one of the revolutions which periodically shook the Spanish throne, he was expelled from the country.

Misfortunes more grievous befel Christina. In the insurrection of June 1854 a mob violent in its hatred of her, implacable in its vengeance, surrounded her palace from which by a miracle she escaped, broke into, wrecked, and burned it, and then with cries of "Death to the robber, Death to Christina," made for the royal palace where she had taken refuge, eager to tear her to pieces. Flying from the city while its people slept, surrounded and protected by troops of cavalry, she crossed the Spanish border and reached France, where the remainder of her days were spent in the enjoyment of the immense fortune she had acquired. She died at her residence St. Adresse, near Havre, September 12, 1873.

The central figure in this political drama, Louis Philippe, met with a more humiliating fate. His action regarding the Spanish marriages, confirmed the opinion of his craftiness, selfishness, and insincerity, held by the rulers of Europe. That he was

looked on by them with suspicion and disdain, did not make him more acceptable as their Sovereign to the French people who had never esteemed him. Other causes for disliking and distrusting him were not wanting. Having gained the throne as an avowed supporter of liberty, he had more severely and more persistently complained of the Press for free speech, than had either of his predecessors ; and had denied his subjects a fuller extension of suffrage. Inordinately fond of money, he had secretly striven to fill his coffers and to provide for his numerous sons, at the expense of the public funds ; so that at this time, 1848, the civil list was in debt to the amount of some forty millions. Enormous sums were also spent on the fortifications of Paris which he believed would protect his throne, as well as on the royal palaces of Versailles and Fontainebleau. As meetings to protest against the Government were forbidden, Reform Banquets were held instead in the provinces. At these the King's health was not drunk. In February 1848, one of these banquets which it was intended should be given in Paris, was forbidden. This was the spark that fired the magazine. Suddenly, swiftly, excited and threatening crowds filled the streets of the capital, gesticulating, haranguing, demanding reform.

Within three days beginning February 23, 1848, and with amazing rapidity, events followed which

startled Europe and formed another stirring chapter in the history of France. This spontaneous uprising that threatened to sweep all before it with the irresistible violence of a hurricane, alarmed the King whose courage had never been conspicuous. His feeling was deepened to terror when the Commandant of a Legion of the National Guard sternly told him his corps demanded reform. Remembrance came to him of the ghastly crimson scenes Paris had witnessed but fifty years before when the head that wore the crown of France fell at a stroke of the guillotine. Anxious to save his life and his wealth he was prepared to act on any suggestion offered. A change in the Government was promptly made and promises of concessions given. Grasping at a hope that the people would be satisfied and his throne secured, he issued orders that they were not to be fired on. The blood which was not spilled rose to greater fury and rebellion. Like the roar of a storm to those on a foundering ship, came the hoarse threats of the mob to the man shivering within the walls of the Tuileries. Then came a moment when a number of his ministers and of his own family crowded round the distracted monarch and advised him as a last resource to resign. With a trembling hand he signed his abdication in favour of his little grandson the Comte de Paris, eldest son of the Duc d'Orléans. Taking this pale terrified child together with his brother, his mother led them to

the Chamber of Deputies where the new Ministry was sitting and presented the elder as their Sovereign. He was received with an outburst of applause. This had not subsided when the sound of scuffling feet and the clamour of high voices were heard, doors were burst open by a wild and formidable rabble armed with pikes, sabres, and firearms, who proclaimed a republic, forcibly drove the Prime Minister from his seat, scattered the Cabinet, roughly handled the Duchesse d'Orléans, and dragging her terrified eldest son from her arms, would have strangled him but for the interference of the National Guard.

Breathless and distraught, her body bruised, her dress torn, she fled from the Chamber of Deputies with the intention of taking refuge in the Invalides ; but in passing through the Rue de l'Université she was hustled about by the crowd. Snatching up her eldest son in her arms, she let go his brother's hand, when in an instant he disappeared from her side. Frantic with fear she called to and sought him, but it was some little time before he was found. She then took refuge in the portal of the Duchesse d'Estissac's house. Knocking at its door she received no answer, when in despair she cried out, "Oh mon Dieu, ne s'ouvrira-t-il pas dans Paris une seule porte pour moi ?" Eventually she was taken to the residence of Anatole de Montesquiou, where she was hidden until she was able to leave for Germany. When gasping messengers reported to

the King the scene which had taken place in the Chamber of Deputies, he seemed to lose not only what courage he had but his reason. Presently on hearing the cries of the mob outside, his mind turned, not to the dangers of his family, but to that which more closely concerned him, and he called out in terror, "They are coming to rob me of all I possess." Going on her knees the Queen implored him to be calm. "Mon ami, ne quittez jamais votre poste, montez plutôt en Roi," she implored, while Montpensier who was in great excitement called out "Abdiquez sire, abdiquez. C'est votre unique salut." Weak and cowardly his sole desire was to escape and though the Prime Minister added his voice to that of his consort and begged him to remain, he hurried from the palace with five francs in his pocket, crossed its gardens, and passed into the streets. At sight of the surging crowd he leaned heavily on his wife's arm and almost fainted, though not one individual made the slightest effort to molest him, while all were willing to obey the National Guard, who begged that no violence should be used.

Quitting France, and racked by fear and impatience though he was, he was forced by a violent hurricane to remain at a little riverside inn, where he passed himself off as an Englishman named Smith. It was not until the afternoon of Thursday March 3, that the storm having somewhat exhausted itself, the King and Queen with their suite left Honfleur unobserved, in a

fishing boat which took them to Havre. Here a Southampton steam packet, the *Express*, waited for them in compliance with an urgent entreaty that had been forwarded to its captain.

No sooner were the refugees on board than the *Express* left the harbour and after experiencing some rough weather reached the offing of Newhaven the next morning about seven o'clock. At the moment the tide made it impossible to get into the harbour, while the inconvenience and danger of landing by means of a boat were too great to be undertaken by their Majesties. General Dumas and General Rumigny got on shore by this means, when one of them went to the Bridge Inn to secure rooms, order a meal, and make preparations for the arrival of the King and Queen ; while the other hastened to London to give news of the arrival of the dethroned monarch to Her Majesty, and present her with a letter written by him. In this he told her he had lost his crown, thanked her for all she had ever done for him, and begged her to grant him a refuge in her kingdom. Meantime the English Sovereign forgetting his duplicity and remembering only his misfortunes, was greatly grieved at his flight and anxious for his safety. On hearing of his departure from Paris, she had ordered steamers to start for Calais and Boulogne, for which ports she thought it possible he would make, to bring him without delay to England : and on receiving his letter

she burst into tears. Immediately answering it she placed Claremont House at his disposal.

It was midday before the *Express* was able to get into the Newhaven harbour and the royal refugees landed. With a cloth cap pulled over his haggard, sallow unshaven face, with a worn coat drawn round his burley figure, and a red and white muffler about his throat, with no vestige of majesty, with every appearance of dejection, Louis Philippe stepped ashore ; his consort beside him, pale, white haired, gentle, feeble from fatigue, bedraggled, and weary beyond endurance. Scarcely had his foot touched land than he thanked God he was on British soil. News of his arrival had spread, and despite the high winds and drenching showers many ventured out on this bleak day to greet the royal pair. Always suave, he courteously returned the greetings they offered him, and expressed the pleasure he felt in being once more in England. Blazing fires, comfortable rooms, and a substantial breakfast awaited the fugitives ; and when in the course of a few hours the King had rested, shaved, and dressed himself in the clothes bought for him at Brighton by his valet, his usual buoyancy began to assert itself.

Before the day ended Louis Philippe was waited on by the Chairman and other officials of the London and Brighton Railway, who offered to place a special train at his service the following morning. They found him seated by the fire and deeply interested

in the newspapers, one of which gave an inaccurate account of his flight from Paris, with imaginary details of his subsequent movements, while another announced his death. Flinging the journals aside, he rose, shook hands, and expressed his gratitude for the kindness and hospitality that had been shown him by Englishmen. Next day he left Newhaven for Croydon, where he was met by the Duc de Nemours and the Princesse Clementine. Only the previous day the Princesse Clementine together with a niece, the daughter of the Duc de Nemours, had crossed from Calais. During their passage the child was startled to hear a voice strikingly like her father's coming from a man who bore him no resemblance. On mentioning it to her aunt the latter looked at him, when suddenly attracted by her fixed gaze and previously unaware of her presence, he made himself known as the Duc de Nemours, before she had penetrated his disguise. The King and Queen having warmly embraced their son daughter and grandchild, drove with them in a hired brougham to Claremont. When in October 1844, he had visited it as the honoured guest of the English Sovereign, the autumn woods were rich with colour, sunshine had alternated with showers, the flower beds still glowed with the vivid hues of chrysanthemums, dahlias, and nasturtiums; but now its melancholy dripping trees were a blurred mass against dreary skies, its shrubs

and plants exhaled moisture, the earth was soaked with heavy rains, and he returned a dethroned monarch, a penniless exile dependent for the roof which sheltered him on the bounty of one whose friendship he had betrayed.

On the afternoon of their arrival at Claremont, Prince Albert called on the refugees and brought them an invitation to visit Windsor. In speaking of Her Majesty, Greville says that "nothing but the extraordinary good sense of Prince Albert and the boundless influence he has over her keeps her affectionate feelings under due restraint ; but for him she would have made all her household go to Claremont." The same authority tells us that when the French royal family visited her, she received Louis Philippe and his consort as King and Queen. "I take it for granted," he continues, "that they have persuaded the Queen that their ruin has been the work of Palmerston, for this is what they always say, and possibly they believe it." That Palmerston detested the King there was no doubt ; one proof of which was that scarcely had Louis Philippe been settled at Claremont, than the Foreign Minister wrote to him stating he must not regard it as his permanent residence. That he should betray his feelings was a mistake in more ways than one ; for Claremont was not at this time a possession of Her Majesty's, it having been settled for life on Prince Leopold

on his marriage with the Princess Charlotte. On the dethroned monarch writing to him—his son-in-law—the King of the Belgians immediately sent word that he might remain at Claremont as long as he liked.

The Duke of Wellington called on the King and Queen and was struck by his want of dignity in referring to the late events and her calmness and resignation. Nothing pleased Louis Philippe better than to receive visits from the English nobility with whom he had been acquainted in the past. To them he would complain bitterly of Palmerston, and describe his downfall with great vivacity. Among those who called on him within a week of his arrival in England were Lady Granville and her sister-in-law, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, who when her father the late Lord Granville had been British Ambassador to France, had been on intimate terms with the royal family. To them he described his flight, his subsequent adventures, his travels, disguises, privations, dangers, and the kindness and assistance he had met with. They told Greville it was very interesting, amusing, and admirably well told. "He was occasionally pathetic and occasionally droll; his story was a mixture of the serious and the comic—sometimes laughing and at others almost crying—that was very strange." It struck them that he was very undignified, even vulgar, and above all that he seemed to be animated with no feeling towards his country, but

to view the whole history through the medium of self. He said of the French, "Ils ont choisi leur sort ; je dois supporter le mien." "It appears that the royal family have no money, the King having invested his whole fortune in France, and beggary is actually staring them in the face. The King evinced no bitterness except in speaking of the English newspapers, especially *The Times* ; and he attributed much of his unpopularity, and what he considers the unjust prejudices against him, to the severity of their personal attacks on him."

On the day this visit was paid by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, the French Queen had gone to town. Courteous expressions of the regret his consort would feel at missing the call of an old friend, and hopes that it would soon be repeated, led to Lady Georgiana driving to Claremont a few days later. The result of her interview with the French Queen was written by her to her mother, the Dowager Lady Granville, March 18, 1848, in an interesting letter given in Mrs. Augustus Craven's biography of her, which says, "It is a most heart-breaking thing to see the Queen. She is an angel. I felt as if I could have knelt to her. Such intense piety, not a word of bitterness, of anger, of complaint. Nothing but heroic patience and courage, but much suffering, such deep suffering. 'Je tâche de supporter, chère Lady Georgiana, je veux avoir du courage—mais mes enfants.

Mon Dieu mes enfants . . . et puis mes pauvres, tant de souffrances pour nous, pour nous. Je succombe tout cela.' All that with angelic simplicity, I could do nothing but cry. It is the most affecting thing in the world. . . . The Duchess of Orleans has written an adorable letter to the Queen, such tenderness and affection. She has refused all offers of asylums from German Princes, and is going to live in strict seclusion at Ems, till the season begins and then elsewhere, with her two boys and their tutor. She hopes to teach them to be good men, good Frenchmen, to bear adversity as their grandfather did in his youth. This was real kindness and shows such nobleness and delicacy of feeling. The Queen said, 'Hélène a été adorable dans ce tourbillon de malheur.' The King came in and sat some time with us. He was very different from the last time, silent and dejected. If there is not dignity about him, there is at least a touching absence of resentment or ill will to any one. The Queen kissed me over and over again, and really I think I was melted by the ardent sympathy I felt for her."

In another letter dated April 8, 1848, Lady Georgiana tells her mother, "The distress of the royal family is so great that they live with the utmost self-denial, do almost entirely without wine, and have nothing but the strict *nécessaire* at dinner. He will not accept anything from our Queen or from Leopold.



From an engraving by Skelton & Hopwood, after a drawing by Eug. Lami.

QUEEN AMELIA,
Wife of King Louis Philippe.

Lady Canning says our Queen is very unhappy about them. She found her in tears the other day about something regarding their difficulties." Eventually the new French Government voted that Louis Philippe and his family should have their property restored to them. This enabled the King and Queen to spend the remainder of their days in ease.

At the same time Paris presented a dismal appearance, the theatres empty, loss of trade everywhere visible, the Tuileries sacked and desolate. Those who had helped to ruin the palace now took possession of it and threatened to burn it down if attempts were made to remove them. The home of the rabble they put it to the most disgusting uses, at sight of which the passing crowd stared and laughed. The end came when a veritable siege reigned over the city. The insurgents at three o'clock in the morning threw up barriers and were opposed by three hundred thousand men acting under Cavaignac. The fight lasted three days and three nights, the military losing fifteen hundred men. In the midst of this red horror, the Archbishop on his way to make peace was set on by the mob and shot. It was also proved that various women disguised as vivandières gave poisoned brandy to the soldiers, from which many died. Eventually the Government conquered.

While foreign politics in connection with the Spanish marriages brought the English Sovereign

much vexation, affairs nearer home caused her deep anxiety. The potato blight in Ireland, which began in the autumn of 1845, as mentioned under the records of that year, was continued for two successive years. All over the western and southern counties fields that had been laboriously cleared of putrefying vegetation, tilled, and sown with potato-seed, once more became dark malodorous wastes stretching away to black bogs and arid mountains. As the bulk of the people had been accustomed to live on potatoes, corn had not been generally cultivated, and in many towns and villages in the heart of the country the sale of bread or flour was unknown. Suddenly deprived of the staff of life, there was nothing to replace it. Speaking of the winter of 1846 Mr. Steuart Trench, an Irish landagent and landlord, tells us in his *Realities of Irish Life*, that while at Farney, Co. Monaghan, one of the districts as yet healthy, "dark whisperings and rumours of famine in its most appalling form began to reach us, but still we could scarcely believe that men, women, and children were actually dying of starvation in thousands. Yet so it was. They died in their mountain glens, they died along the sea coast, they died on the roads, and they died in the fields; they wandered into towns and died in the streets; they closed their cabin doors and lay down upon their beds, and died of actual starvation in their houses. To us even at the time it appeared almost incredible

that such things should be. But a cry soon arose from the west, and especially from the district of Skibbereen and Schull in the county of Cork, which left no further doubt as to the real position of affairs ; hundreds, nay thousands, of people had died and were dying in those districts of absolute starvation."

Lest a description of the misery of these districts—in which relief depôts had not yet been opened—might seem too terrible to be true if given by any other than a reliable eyewitness, that of the Rev. Frederick Trench is quoted, though the more gruesome details of his experiences are omitted. In the first house he entered at Cappagh, he saw "a dead child lying in a corner and two children pale as death, with their heads hanging down upon their breasts sitting by a small fire. The father had died on the road coming home from work. One of the children a lad of seventeen years of age, had been found in the absence of his mother who had been looking for food, lying dead with his head leaning on the hob close to the fire, and with his legs held out of the fire by the little child which I then saw lying dead. Two other children had also died. The mother and the two children still alive had lived on one dish of barley for the last four days. In the next house I learned that the father a few days before had been found dead at a turf-clamp ; the mother had buried one child (as they said) off her back, meaning that she carried the child on

her back to the grave ; and I saw three others apparently dying. In the third house I entered there was a family—a father, mother, and five children—all of whom were dying slowly of simple weakness, the consequence of hunger ; half a stone of meal a week was their sole support. The man said he knew they were all dying ; he said their appetites were all good, and that they had no sickness.”

In the village of Schull signs of suffering were if possible more heartrending. As he stood in the street with the parish doctor, he was “surrounded by hundreds of clamorous beggars and wretched objects, many of them with evidently dying children in their arms. We went into three houses close to each other, and more dreadful objects I never saw.” Speaking of them the doctor declared they must all die for “the people die unconsciously to themselves ; they are foolishly delirious ; they die before your eyes. The pulse does not average fifty ; there is water between it and your hand ; their legs swing and rock like the legs of a doll ; every one of them are in famine fever, a fever so sticky that it never leaves them.” He added that there were not one hundred out of the three thousand families in Schull parish which could command their breakfast the following morning. On being asked if he would repeat that on oath in a court of justice, he answered ; “I would say so if I was before the judgment seat of Christ ; there are no exceptions ;

east, west, north, or south it is all the same." A house was pointed out in which eight persons were dying; "I went to it, and on entering found six persons lying sick on straw or rather dung, and one man walking about the picture of death." In a poor cabin which they next entered, the doctor groped his way to a dark corner "and feeling with his hand, told me there were six in the bed—father, mother, and four children, all unable to rise—but I was particularly struck with the question which the doctor put to the poor people when he was feeling for them in the bed, 'Are there any dead here?' None were actually dead at that time." Outside another cabin stood a gaunt ashen-faced woman who said to him, "I have within a fine young man of nineteen years of age and you could carry him in the palm of your hand." He entered and saw "a bundle of skin and bone naked, and partly wrapped up in a blanket, sitting by the fire. The mother said, 'Sir, we have no sickness but hunger.'" At some of the houses at which he rapped, the inmates still living, were too weak to rise and open the door. In one day one hundred and four deaths from starvation were reported to the Government.

No sooner had the victims of hunger, with marvellous patience, with dumb resignation laid down the weary burden of their lives, than their rags were stripped from their bones to cover those of some shivering relative.

Their remains were then thrust into a "trap coffin, the bottom supported by hinges at one side and a hook and eye at the other," which served for the common use of dropping the bodies into pits. Even such accommodation was not always possible. The doctor of Kilmore told Mr. Trench "he had met a man, a father, tottering along the road, a rope over his shoulder, and at the other end of the rope streeling along the ground, were two dead children whom he was with difficulty dragging to the grave." These graves were frequently made in ditches, in the corners of fields, and in the little patches of gardens behind cabins. Later when the people died not merely of starvation, but of fever and dysentery which it begot, their remains were carted a dozen at a time to some field or graveyard; though they were frequently allowed to remain for a time where they had dropped in the street, or on the roadside. Occasionally when silently and unheeded whole families died in their cabins they were found there weeks later. These poor dwellings were burned and the bodies cremated. It is estimated that about three hundred thousand people perished of starvation, or of fever caused by insufficient food during this famine.

Mr. Steuart Trench thinks that in the beginning this might have been arrested had prompt methods been taken for that purpose. Although the crop on which the people largely depended for support had failed, yet meal and flour were to be had in some parts of the

country, together with herds of sheep and cattle, while the coast abounded with fish. And on the first outcry a stream of money from the compassionate began to flow into the distressed country. But there were neither nets nor fishing boats, and no one thought of providing them; while no effort was made to carry corn or flour across the mountains from the untainted districts to those suffering from cruel want. In that way, according to Mr. Steuart Trench, though in near proximity to plenty "the people were dying by hundreds of actual dire starvation, merely for want of some one with sufficient energy and powers of organisation to bring the food and the people together." As an instance of this he mentions that a benevolent rector who had received large sums from England to stay the famine, "appeared in the morning at his own hall door, and threw handfuls of shillings and sixpences amongst the crowd who had collected to receive the charity. Amiable gentleman no doubt he was, and most honourable in the distribution of all he had received; but he forgot that starving people could not eat sixpences or shillings and the food was some ten miles off. The people had no strength nor energy to seek, purchase, or cook meal or flour, and with the silver in their hands they died. In another place the priest of the parish was utterly paralysed by the magnitude of the desolation around him. He had given all he had to the people, there was no food whatever in his house, and

he stood really in danger of being starved himself, with money in his pocket and abundance of corn near at hand."

The first endeavour to aid this distress on the part of the Government was to establish a system of public works, the expenses of which were to be defrayed by public money, half of which was a grant, and half a loan to be repaid by the baronies. For this purpose two millions sterling was advanced from the Treasury during the four months ending January 1, 1847. For want of knowledge of the country, and a practicable application of such knowledge to its needs, the greater part of this labour was wasted ; for instead of employing it to till the mountain sides, drain marshes, dredge rivers, build houses for the poor, subsoil the land, or construct lines of railways, it was directed to cutting roads which nobody wanted, and that led nowhere, to levelling hills and filling up hollows. The whole rural population of the country was seen depending for support on these works. From one hundred and fourteen thousand employed in October 1846, the number rapidly rose to seven hundred and thirty-four thousand in March 1847. Little labour was exacted or expected from those employed. One of the officers of the Board of Works said, that while as an engineer he was ashamed of allotting so little task work for a day's wages, he was as a man ashamed of requiring so much. In some districts the mere proof of attendance was sufficient to

entitle a man to his day's pay. Half starved and fever-stricken, many of the labourers fell dead with shovel or pick in their hands ; when their places were supplied—nominally—by other members of their families. The Secretary of the works told the Rev. Frederick Trench that in the course of eight days he had altered on the labourers' tickets "in a hundred instances, the names of the men who had died to the names of their wives ; and that in that space of time there had been six cases in which he had altered the name from the father to the son, and from the son to the widow, and from the widow to the daughter, all having died."

As applications for work increased daily it was seen that if people were employed in such labour the land must remain uncultivated, while if they were sent away they must starve. As it became more and more evident that these haggard, famished, men were unfitted for any physical exertion, a different plan of relieving them was adopted by the Government. The number employed by the Board of Works was gradually decreased, and the people freely fed. For this purpose one hundred thousand pounds' worth of Indian corn was ordered from the United States, the first cargo of which reached Cork harbour in March 1846. Unaccustomed to "yellow meal" the people looked on it with suspicion, dubbed it "Peel's brimstone," and declared it would turn all who ate it, black. It was

only when to overcome their prejudice against it, that the priests made it their exclusive diet as porridge, an example followed by the gentry, both Catholic and Protestant, that seeing the consumers retained their natural colour, the people began to use it.

To supply food to a starving nation, money must be had. Among the first to offer it were the British residents in India. As the result of a movement that held its preliminary meeting at Calcutta, January 2, 1846, and was presided over by Sir John Peter Grant, a sum of thirteen thousand nine hundred and twenty pounds was subscribed. This was distributed in Ireland between April and December 1846. The first to bestir themselves in the same cause in Great Britain, were the Society of Friends, ever distinguished for their charity and humanity. As the result of an appeal the members of that body in Great Britain, Ireland, and America subscribed sixty thousand pounds. On January 6, 1847, a committee which included Baron Rothschild and Thomas Baring, invited contributions to the "British Association for the relief of extreme Distress in Ireland and the Islands of Scotland"; and seven days later a letter was issued by Her Majesty asking for aid for the same purposes. These appeals met with noble results. The Queen gave two thousand pounds; The Wesleyan Methodists five thousand; the Dowager Queen, the King of Hanover, the Sultan of Turkey, the Corporation of

the City of London, the East India Company, the Bank of England, the Duke of Devonshire, the Worshipful Company of Grocers, Jones Loyd & Co., Rothschild & Co., Baring Brothers & Co., Trueman Hanbury & Co., Overend Gurney & Co., contributed a thousand pounds respectively ; Cambridge University and Town, including five hundred pounds collected at a Baptist chapel, sent two thousand seven hundred pounds ; Oxford University and City, one thousand seven hundred ; Manchester forwarded seven thousand seven hundred pounds ; Newcastle and Hull nearly four thousand each ; St. Petersburg two thousand six hundred ; while from the most distant countries and cities, as well as from those near, Denmark, Holland, Malta, Italy, British Guiana, Mexico, Nova Scotia, Turkey, Jamaica, South Australia, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Trinidad, Newfoundland, came handsome donations. The amount subscribed in response to the Queen's letter was one hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and thirty-three pounds ; while two hundred and sixty-three thousand, two hundred and fifty-one pounds resulted from the appeal of the British Association. Of these amounts five sixths were devoted to distress in Ireland and one sixth to Scotland.

Other associations for the collection of funds were formed, such as the General Central Relief Committee for all Ireland ; and the Irish Relief Association for

the Destitute Peasantry. To the former of these British North America contributed over twelve thousand pounds ; the United States over five thousand pounds ; British India an equal sum ; and England nine thousand. The sum mentioned as contributed by the United States by no means represented its generous subscriptions sent to various relief societies from all parts of its dominions ; besides the provisions it sent which were estimated at being over one hundred thousand pounds. It was not only nations but private individuals, not only men but women who nobly vied with each other in their charity and sympathy. In England many gentlewomen adopted Irish parishes for which they begged subscriptions, worked at bazaars, and sold their jewellery, the results being forwarded to some relief fund ; while Irish gentlewomen not only employed themselves in the same way, but went among the people distributing food, nursing the dying, and personally aiding the miserable. In addition to money and food, clothing was sent into the country from England and America the value of which was estimated at about ten thousand pounds. It may be mentioned that the freight and charges on the supplies of food and clothing sent to Ireland from the United States and Canada, to the amount of exceeding fifty thousand pounds were paid by the Government.

To rescue the starving people required effort and organisation. Cork harbour—one of the finest in the

kingdom—usually empty, was now crowded by steamers and vessels from America, Australia, and Austria. These were laden with Indian corn and wheat, which all the available mills within a wide radius were employed to grind ; while maize and corn also imported by the Government or sent by the charitable, was on the other side of the Channel ground at the Admiralty mills at Deptford, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, as also at private mills hired for the same purpose. As flour and meal it was then despatched in ships of war, in steamers, in sailing ships, and even the Admiralty yacht, to the western coast of Ireland where they served as store ships to supply the thirty-four depôts established in the district for its distribution. From there it was taken to the soup kitchens which under the superintendence of over a thousand Relief Committees, were set up within two or three miles of each other, and sufficiently near to enable all who needed food and were able to walk such distances to obtain one free meal a day. Personal application was insisted on, though exceptions were made in favour of the sick, impotent, and children under nine years of age. The meal consisted usually of a quart of soup thickened with meal and a ration of bread, biscuit or rice ; or of stirabout made of Indian meal and rice steamed, and sufficiently solid to be carried home by the recipients. In this way by a splendid organisation three millions of starving people were fed daily in the neighbourhood

of their own homes, and the famine was successfully grappled with and overcome.

In any other country it would be remarkable that out of the two thousand local bodies to which the Government advanced money for relief, there was not a single case of embezzlement. About seven hundred and forty thousand men were employed in distributing food, many of whom had been taken from the public service offices, others from private life, but all of whom were ready to risk contagion, to suffer great physical strain, and what was worse, to endure sights of suffering that wrung the heart. Besides those who died from famine and fever, the population of Ireland was further decimated by the vast numbers that fled from that stricken country to America. During the twelve months ending March 30, 1847, no less than two hundred thousand pounds had been forwarded from Irish emigrants in the United States and the British North American provinces, to their relatives in Ireland that the latter might join them. Government also assisted the people to emigrate. In one year alone, 1847, about two hundred and eighty thousand persons left Ireland for the United States and Canada. The drainage which this meant to the country can be imagined ; but the heart wrench it was to those who passionately clung to their native soil, cannot be understood by those of another race. "Fiction has nothing more pathetic than the great melodramatic

tragedy now performing on the shores of Ireland—the Celtic Exodus,” wrote Lady Morgan. “The Jews left a foreign country, a house of bondage ; but the Celtic Exodus is the departure of the Irish Emigrants from the land of their love, their inheritance and their traditions, of their passions and their prejudices ; with all the details of wild grief and heartrending incidents—their ignorance of the strangers they are going to seek—their tenderness for the objects they are leaving behind. Their departure exceeds in deep pathos all the poetical tragedy that has ever been presented on the stage, or national novelists have ever depicted in their volumes.”

While the famine was raging, the heavy despondency of the Irish nation was increased by the death of Daniel O’Connell. Grieved by the terrible sufferings, the miserable deaths of the helpless people around him, afflicted by the loss of his wife and of a grandchild whom he had worshipped ; suffering from a disease brought about by the nervous strain of a long struggle ; and bitterly disappointed that the Young Irelanders—who preached physical force in opposition to the moral force he had advocated as a means of obtaining a separate Legislature for Ireland—had wrecked the Repeal Association he had founded, O’Connell was a sad and broken man. That his life of ceaseless endeavour was drawing to an end brought little regret to one so weary ; but that it

should close in hopeless gloom, smote him to the soul.

The advice of his doctors that he should seek change of scene and distraction of mind, was accepted by him because it enabled him to put in action a long-felt desire to visit Rome. Accompanied by his youngest son and namesake, by his chaplain the Rev. Dr. Miley, and by his faithful valet Mat Duggan, he set out on his travels through France to Italy in March 1847. It was with dim eyes and a sinking heart that from the deck of a steamer he took his last look at the rapidly receding, cloud-darkened, stricken island, to the welfare of which he had given his life; and that he knew intuitively he should never see again though those of his household spoke bravely of his recovery. When it became known that he had arrived in Paris thousands of the most distinguished Frenchmen called to write their names in the visitors' book of his hotel. The Count de Montalembert, President of the Electoral Committee presented him with an address on behalf of that body; and the British Ambassador invited him to dinner. At Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, and Genoa, the same flattering attentions were paid to him.

At Genoa he rested some days, during which instead of improving he grew worse. The congestion of the brain from which he suffered now entered on a more serious stage, and its danger was increased by the

rapid development of pulmonary catarrh. Doctors were summoned and spoke of danger. Towards dawn on the morning of May 15, he opened his eyes to find the mournful face of his old valet bending anxiously above him ; when clasping the hands of that faithful friend he said with an effort at cheerfulness, "I'm not dead yet."

In the passing hours his condition grew worse. To himself no doubt remained that the end had come. That he was far from his home and his people and in a land where all was new and strange, seemed mournful now that the parting was at hand. Later in the day he whispered to his chaplain, "I'm dying, my dear friend, I'm dying." Prayers were publicly offered for him in the churches. At half-past nine that evening the breath flickered out of him. The last sound that could be caught from his lips was a prayer for mercy. The church bells tolling all over the city told the public that he was dead.

By his desire his heart was taken to the city which he never reached. Put into an urn it was carried to Rome where it was placed in the church of the Irish College. His embalmed body was brought back to Ireland where it was received with every sign of respect and grief. With public honours, followed by thousands from every part of the country who sent their deputations, the object of eulogy from great men, he was laid in Glasnevin Cemetery Dublin, August 5, 1847.

The comment on his death by Thomas Carlyle so characteristic of the illiberality of the great philosopher was "And O'Connell too, the wretched blustering quack is dead ; died with his mouth full of superstitious nonsense, among other things."

CHAPTER VIII

Artists who received commissions from the Queen—David Wilkie her portrait painter—Living in the village of Kensington—He goes to Brighton to paint "The First Council"—Her Majesty's interest in the work and difficulties with sitters—The picture not a faithful representation—Charles Robert Leslie at Westminster Abbey—Struck by the spectacle of the Coronation—Is commissioned to paint it—At Windsor—George Hayter and his work—Sir Martin Archer Shee—The story of his election as President of the Academy—"Founder of the great tip-toe school"—The National Gallery and the Royal Academy—The suggestions of a vandal—Ultimate decision regarding Burlington House—Edwin Landseer's youth—Appearance in his manhood—Commissioned to paint the Queen—John Partridge paints the Queen—Artists commissioned to paint the lunettes in the Summer-house of Buckingham Palace—Testimony of Unwin—Burning of the Houses of Parliament—Watched by Charles Barry—Competition for building the new Houses—Report by the Select Committee—Jealous of members of his profession—A meeting and its resolution—Put to the House by Dr. Hume—Reply of Sir Robert Peel—Augustus Welby Pugin—Early days—Why he did not send in a design—Drawing for others—His appointment at Westminster—Eccentricity and indifference—Progress of the new palace—Interest shown in it by Prince Albert—Visited by Kings—Pugin's illness—Melancholy letter—His health shattered—The new palace opened—Charles Barry is knighted—His death.

CHAPTER VIII

IT was Her Majesty's desire from the beginning of her reign that the chief events should be recorded in pictorial art. In compliance with this her first Council held on the day of her accession, was painted by Sir David Wilkie; who thirty-two years previously when he was in his twentieth year, had left his father's manse in the wilds of Cults, and had sailed for London in the hope of gaining fame and fortune as an artist. For an artist "wee sunny haired Davie" had determined to be in spite of the religious warnings against a light, vain, and ungodly profession, given by his grandfather, and in spite of his neighbours' regrets at "the will-o'-the-wisp choice which the son of their gude minister had made." Going to Edinburgh at the age of fourteen, he spent his days in drawing at the Trustee's Academy, and his evenings in playing the fiddle in his tiny bedroom at the top of a high, dark house in Nicholson Street. When eventually he realised twenty-five pounds by the sale of a picture, he turned his back on bonny Scotland. On reaching the English capital he entered the

Academy School, one of the pupils of which described him as "a raw, tall, pale, queer Scotchman, an odd fellow." His struggle for bare life now began. "I need not tell you to be careful of expense," wrote his father who felt rich enough on an income that fluctuated from sixty to a hundred pounds a year, and who had been sufficiently energetic to marry three wives in succession. In answer to this admonition David explained that the cost of living was greater in London than in Edinburgh, but the food was much better. "I breakfast at home and dine at an ordinary, a place where about a dozen gentlemen meet at two o'clock, and have a dinner served up that only costs them thirteenpence a head, which I am sure is as cheap as any person can have such a dinner in any place in Great Britain," he wrote.

His advance in worldly success was slow but certain. To one who was ever diffident and modest it seemed "just wonderful," but to others it appeared richly deserved. Simple and homely subjects such as "The Rent Day," "The Blind Fiddler," "The Village Politicians," were treated with a naturalness and charm that brought him many patrons and many purchasers. It was a proud day for David when on the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence, in 1830, he was appointed Painter in Ordinary to the King, by George IV. ; an office in which he was continued by William IV., who made him a knight. That he should be made Painter in

Ordinary to the third Sovereign he had seen on the throne was to be expected, as that he should likewise be commissioned to paint the representation of the first historical event in her reign. As a great portion of his life had been spent in Kensington, at first in Phillimore Place, and afterwards at Vicarage Place, he had frequent opportunities of seeing the Queen in her early days, during his quiet walks about that delightful green and wooded village. It is probable that the tall bony man slightly stooped, with wistful grey eyes shadowed by bushy brows, and a timid nervous manner, had been pointed out to her as the distinguished artist who had painted her uncles; for on Wilkie being summoned by the Lord Chamberlain to the Pavilion at Brighton where the Queen was then staying, to paint the First Council, she appeared as he states to recognise him as a friend. Her manner was gracious, simple and natural, while having all the self-possession, thought and decision of maturer years. "From the smile to the unrestrained laugh," she showed herself to him a perfect child.

The Queen took the greatest interest in his work and sat to him as often as business permitted her. In some respects and for pictorial purposes it differed slightly from the scene it depicts; Her Majesty being painted in a white dress instead of the plain black frock she wore on the occasion, and being represented as sitting on a throne instead of the chair she occupied.

Sir David foresaw that he would have a "considerable plague in adjusting the persons," not only of those who were present at the Council but those who were not ; among the latter the Lord Mayor for that year, Sir John Cowen, who having attended the proclamation had lingered in the room as if waiting for the Council which he was not privileged to attend, until ejected by its clerk. When the latter went to sit for his portrait in the picture, he thought it an unfaithful representation of what had actually taken place ; for while admitting that it would be impossible to preserve all the details without sacrificing some effects, yet he considered its glaring improprieties diminished its interest and deprived it of value as an historical piece. "There were," he writes, "ninety-seven Privy Counsellors present on the occasion and among them the most conspicuous men of the time. Wilkie has introduced as many figures as he well could but has made a strange selection, admitting very ordinary men such as Lord Burghersh and Lord Salisbury, while Brougham and Stanley do not find places. He told me that great anxiety prevailed to be put into this picture and many pressing applications have been made ; and as only vain and silly men would make them, and importunity generally prevails to a great extent, it ends in the sacrifice of the picture by substituting these undistinguished intruders in the place of the celebrated persons who are so much better entitled to be there."

"The Queen's First Council" was hung in the Academy exhibition of 1838, the private view of which was visited by Her Majesty, who was greatly pleased with the picture. When later it was engraved, it became extremely popular with her subjects.

Another artist Charles Robert Leslie, was selected to paint the picture of the second historical event in the Queen's reign, the Coronation. Leslie whose parents were Americans, was born in Clerkenwell, October 19, 1794, while they were staying in London. Four years later he went with them to Philadelphia, the voyage—owing to bad weather, the attack of a French privateer, and the subsequent repair of the ship at Lisbon—occupying eight months. After the death of his father a watch and clock maker, the boy was bound to a firm of publishers, but as his great desire was to become an artist, a subscription was made for him among friends to enable him to study art in Europe; and in his eighteenth year he arrived in London carrying with him a letter of introduction to his countryman Benjamin West, then President of the Royal Academy. Entering the schools of that institution, Leslie worked persistently and conscientiously and gradually rose in public esteem. His pictures "Don Quixote deceived by the Barber"; "The Merry Wives of Windsor"; "Uncle Toby and the Widow"; "Sancho Panza"; "The Taming of the Shrew"; "Sir Roger de Coverley's Fortune

told by the Gipsies "; all became favourites with his generation.

By one of his patrons Lady Holland, he was quite unexpectedly sent a ticket which enabled him to see Her Majesty's Coronation from the Earl Marshal's box. That allotted to him as an Academician he gave to his wife. At four o'clock in the morning of this June day, they set out from their house in Abercorn Place, St. John's Wood, for Westminster ; he in Court dress, she in full evening dress, "and it seemed very odd to find ourselves walking in the street, such odd figures at so early an hour of the morning ; but we were kept in countenance by a large procession of ladies and gentlemen most of them much more finely dressed than we," he says. Like all present Leslie was deeply impressed by the stateliness and magnificence of the scene, and as an artist was especially struck by the picturesque effect caused by a sunbeam suddenly penetrating a high window and falling on Her Majesty's head as she knelt to receive the sacrament. That was the moment of this historic spectacle which later he selected to represent, when commissioned by the Sovereign to paint the scene. Going down to Windsor in October 1838, he stayed at the Castle Inn, whence he went every morning to the royal residence and worked there from ten until half-past three with the exception of the time spent in eating the lunch sent to him, "which as it is always

very plentiful and good, I generally make my dinner," as he wrote to his wife.

The Queen sat to him five times, not only for the face but for as much of the figure as was seen in the canvas, and for the hands, which he described as being "very pretty, the backs dimpled, and the fingers delicately shaped." She was particular, he adds in writing to his wife, "in having her hair dressed exactly as she wore it at the Coronation, every time she sat." At the end of the fifth sitting Her Majesty asked him not to touch the face again lest he might spoil the likeness with which she was quite satisfied. As a sitter the artist found her "extremely obliging" and ready to put him "in high spirits about the picture by liking it very much." The hours spent in painting the young monarch were the most satisfactory and pleasant of those devoted to his work; for subsequently he experienced delays and difficulties in obtaining sittings from the thirty-nine persons whose portraits were to be included in the picture. This was taken from one place to another; to Buckingham Palace when the Duchess of Kent found she could not pose at the time she had named; to Kensington Palace where Leslie wasted three whole days in waiting on the Duke of Sussex who failed to keep his appointment; to Cambridge House where the Duke of Cambridge—whose conversation like that of his royal father consisted of interrogations—incessantly asked

him questions such as "Do you paint all day? Are you an Academician? Are you painting any other picture? Do you walk here or ride?"; to South Street where Melbourne sat "like a good Prime Minister" until he was called away; to Apsley House where the Duke of Wellington talked to him in a free and friendly manner; to Lambeth Palace where the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of his friends John Kemble and Sarah Siddons; and so on.

When eventually all difficulties in connection with it were overcome and the picture was finished, the Queen warmly expressed her approval of it and permitted it to be engraved. Later she commanded Leslie to paint the christening of her firstborn, the Princess Royal. He was therefore present at that ceremony, and some days afterwards made a sketch of the infant then three months old whom he thought a remarkable fine child. In his *Autobiographical Recollections* he mentions—as proof of the credulity of the public in believing anything detrimental to those in high station—that it was generally believed at the time that the little Princess had been born blind and without feet. When on the evening of the day on which his sketch was made he showed it at a party, "all the ladies said, 'What a pity so fine a child should be entirely blind.' It was in vain I told them that her eyes were beautifully clear and bright,

and that she took notice of everything about her ; I was told that though her eyes looked bright, and though she might appear to turn them to every object, it was certain she was blind. I remembered that it had been said two years before that the Queen herself could scarcely walk, although I knew from good authority that she had danced out a pair of shoes at one of her own balls, and when the company thought she had retired for the evening, she reappeared with a new pair. When the marriage between the Queen and Prince Albert took place, bets were laid in the club-houses that in six months they would be living separately."

Another artist who painted some memorable events in the early reign of the Sovereign was George Hayter, who had begun life as a midshipman, but as a lad of seventeen had left the sea that he might follow his father's profession of art. In 1838, he exhibited his picture "The Queen Seated on the Throne in the House of Lords," painted for the City of London and now hanging in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall ; while later he painted "The Queen's Marriage"; "The Queen Taking the Coronation oath"; and "The Christening of the Prince of Wales," now at Windsor Castle. Though his work was hard, mechanical, and lacking distinction, it had certain dramatic qualities which pleased Her Majesty, who on the death of Sir David Wilkie in 1841, appointed

Hayter as her Principal Painter in Ordinary and knighted him in the following year.

The artists who had commemorated these events in the Queen's life, with the exception of Hayter, were members of the Royal Academy, the President of which on her accession was Sir Martin Archer Shee. Sir Joshua Reynolds the first to hold that office, had been succeeded in it respectively by Benjamin West and Sir Thomas Lawrence, who in turn gave place to Martin Archer Shee. The latter a son of a Castlebar merchant, had received an excellent education from the Dominican friars in Dublin, and subsequently became a student of the School of Design in that city. At the age of nineteen he arrived in London with letters of introduction to Sir Joshua Reynolds who received him graciously, to James Barry who scowled at him, and to Edmund Burke who sought to assist him. Although Sir Joshua's suggestion that he should enter the Academy schools was mortifying to one who considered his drawings excellent, he had sense enough to accept it. Fortune favoured him, for in a comparatively few years he had become a fashionable portrait painter. This was not so much due to his ability as an artist—for his likenesses had that lack of insight and imagination which usually accompanies correctness of drawing and conventional treatment—but to his imposing appearance, his carefulness in dress, to his manner which was oily

in its suavity, to his accomplishments as a rhymster, a conversationalist, a linguist, and to his fluency as an orator.

Sir Thomas Lawrence died suddenly January 7, 1830 ; and on the 25th of the month the Academicians assembled to elect a President. On the morning of that day George IV. appointed David Wilkie to one of the posts held by the late President, that of Principal Painter in Ordinary to the King, which was considered an intimation of his desire that Wilkie should succeed Lawrence. Though the former was incomparably superior to Shee as an artist, yet his inherent modesty, retiring manner, his odd appearance, eccentric and formal manners, were thought unfit for the necessary figurehead.

Fearing lest a direct intimation of the Sovereign's wish that Wilkie should be elected President, might follow the unwelcome hint already given, the Academicians hurried to elect a successor to Lawrence, on the very evening of the day on which Sir David's new honour had been gazetted. Their meeting is described by Benjamin Haydon as being conducted "with a heat and fury and violence and passion quite a disgrace to the feelings of gentlemen or even the lowest members of the lowest clubs." Instead of balloting in the regular way, every member was made to write down the name of the man he wished to have elected, and when the knock of a newcomer was

heard at the entrance door, "they ran down and hurried their friend above stairs without allowing him to take off his great coat." The result of the election is told in forcible language in Haydon's Diary. "Here was David Wilkie" he says, "the greatest genius in his walk that ever lived, the only living artist who has a picture in our National Gallery, the only painter who has a great European reputation, honoured by his Sovereign, respected by the nobility, modest, discreet, upright, diligent, and highly gifted, from whose existence an epoch in British art must be dated, to whose works our present high rank is owing in the opinion of Europe—David Wilkie had two votes. And Martin Archer Shee, the most impotent painter in the solar system, a man who for forty years has never painted any human creature without making him stand on his tip-toes from sheer ignorance, in short the founder of the great tip-toe school had eighteen."

Shortly after his election the new President was knighted. On the accession of Her Majesty, in accordance with the customary privilege granted by the Sovereign to the President, he was given sittings by the Queen for the full length state portrait which was to become the property of the Academy, and to hang in its council room in company with that of her predecessors who had been patrons of that institution.

In the early years of Her Majesty's reign it was her habit to visit the Royal Academy exhibitions before they were opened to the public. These exhibitions were since 1837, held in Trafalgar Square. This change from Somerset House, where George III. had given apartments to the Academicians for their schools and exhibitions, had been made necessary not only because of the ever-increasing number of pupils, and that pictures required more space for their accommodation and display ; but because the growing business of the Government needed all the space available in the building for its work. At the same time it was felt that the collection of old masters acquired for the nation, together with the bequests of similar works, demanded more ample and better accommodation than could be given them in their narrow quarters in Pall Mall. In 1832, the Government voted fifty thousand pounds to erect a building which should serve for the exhibition of ancient and modern works of art. The erection of this, now known as the National Gallery, was entrusted to William Wilkins, R.A., its foundation-stone being laid in September 1832, and its formal opening taking place April 28, 1837, by William IV. ; this being the last time in which he took part in any public ceremony. The Princess Victoria, who was to succeed him in less than two months, visited the exhibition the same afternoon, when she was received by Sir Martin Archer Shee, conducted by him through

its rooms, and had various members of the Academy presented to her.

With the passage of years, the growing interest in art felt by the nation, and the increasing demand of the works of old masters and young artists for exhibition, it became obvious that separate buildings must be found for the ancient and the modern schools. For a time it was a burning question whether the former should be removed from Trafalgar Square, leaving the latter in its possession, or whether the Academicians should not be ejected to seek a home for themselves elsewhere. The subject was discussed in Parliament when the Academy was repeatedly and bitterly attacked by a party having for its spokesman Mr. Hume the Radical member. He it was who in July 1844, moved an humble address to the Crown entreating Her Majesty to withdraw her royal favour from an institution so prejudicial to the interests of high art as the Academy. A division was not taken on this motion. While the Government was perplexed regarding the selection of a site for the necessary building, Sir Robert Peel, who as a collector of pictures was credited with an appreciation for art, suggested an atrocious piece of vandalism that had it been accepted must have drawn execrations on his head for ever. This was that the quaint and ancient Palace of St. James, hallowed by a thousand historic associations, should be pulled down and a National

Gallery erected on its site. "The present building at St. James's cannot long remain," he says in a Cabinet Memorandum dated July 8, 1845, quoted in the *Peel Papers*, adding "It is a great blemish to the best part of London. What better application of the site can there be than a Royal Gallery?" A Royal Commission appointed to consider the matter, unanimously recommended a site north of Kensington Gardens, where the new building should overlook the Uxbridge Road; while Hume proposed that the collection of old masters should be removed from Trafalgar Square and housed in Kensington Palace as a means of saving the expense of erecting a new gallery. Both the Queen and Prince Albert were anxious that a subject of such importance should be deliberately and judiciously considered, so that no mistake might be made when a final decision was reached.

Eventually the Government decided that the building on Trafalgar Square was best suited for the exhibition of pictures belonging to the nation. At the same time it considered that a considerable portion of the site occupied by Burlington House, which with its courtyard and gardens had been purchased in 1854 by the Government, should be appropriated to the use of the Academicians. This should be made over to them in fee-simple upon condition that they erected upon it a building adapted for the purposes of an

Academy, and not in its character or style incongruous with other buildings which might later be placed in the same locality. Though the Academicians were willing to accept this proposal no steps were taken to carry it out. This was chiefly because of the expense to the nation which it was believed a change would involve. The Academy was accordingly allowed to remain in Trafalgar Square until many years later. In 1866 a fresh proposal was made that the Royal Academicians should be given a lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years at a nominal rent, of the central portion of Burlington House together with part of the gardens at the back on which they should erect new galleries and schools at their own cost, and under the direction of Mr. Sydney Smirke, one of their members. After further discussions these buildings were begun in November 1868, together with the alterations in the interior of Burlington House which were necessary to its needs as a Royal Academy. These were completed in 1870 at a cost of about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, when the Academicians took possession of their new quarters.

The glory of the Royal Academy in its early days when it numbered among its members, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wilson, Raeburn, and Cosway had departed. In the beginning of the Victorian reign it could count few men of great merit, fewer still of

genius. But among the latter was one who was continually brought into touch with the Court. This was Edwin Landseer, the son of an engraver who carefully watched and fostered the remarkable gift of the most distinguished of his sons. When a mere child who had to be lifted by his father over a stile leading to the open fields then extending between Marylebone and Hampstead, Edwin was set to draw sheep, goats and cows. When six years old he could sketch well ; at seven he had learned to etch ; and before he had reached his twelfth year he had gained a skilful knowledge of chalk, sepia, and water colours, the uses of which he combined in single drawings. Before he was eighteen, in 1819, his picture "Dogs Fighting" was exhibited at the Academy and afterwards engraved.

By the time the Queen came to the throne he had become personally known to Sir Walter Scott, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Rutland, and many other members of the nobility who patronised art ; and was recommended to her as an artist who would do justice to the portrait she wished to have painted for Prince Albert before her marriage. That he might execute the royal command given him for this, he went daily to Buckingham Palace in the autumn of 1838, when he presented himself before the Sovereign. In appearance he was a man of middle height inclined to stoutness, with a

broad kindly face, pallid in colour, surmounted by a wide imaginative forehead, and lit with brilliant blue eyes. Of a highly nervous temperament, he was depressed or elated by turn, but in his brighter moods was an excellent conversationalist, and a mimic who in more senses than one could surprise his host by his ill-appreciated imitations of him. When Her Majesty had overcome his shyness, she heard from, and in turn told him many anecdotes of the sagacity, affection, and jealousy of their four-footed friends, some of them being allowed to be present at these sittings. From that time the Queen regarded Landseer with friendliness and in subsequent years gave him commissions to paint herself and Prince Albert together with their dogs and horses. He also gave them lessons in etching. The royal patronage added to his popularity,—which in the first instance was due to the subjects of his pictures,—and made him a welcome figure in the houses of the great whose society he unduly valued. There his weakness and simplicity were taken advantage of by many women who by flattery and cajolery induced him to paint pictures for which they paid him prices which their meanness suggested, when indeed they remembered to pay at all. On one occasion he complained to Charles Leslie that he had painted five pictures for a member of a ducal house for which he received only twenty-five pounds ; pictures which after his death were quickly

put into the market and realised a handsome sum.

John Partridge, born February 28, 1790, was also painter to Her Majesty. On returning from Italy where he had spent four years and had gained much of his technical knowledge, he settled in London. The portraits he painted drew a fashionable crowd around him, and he soon became the rival of his most distinguished contemporaries. His fame reaching the Queen, she commissioned him to paint her own portrait and that of Prince Albert, in 1840. These were eminently successful, were exhibited in the Academy of that year, were engraved, and became popular. In the year 1843 the Queen and Prince Albert sat to him again, when he was made Portrait Painter Extraordinary to Her Majesty. Besides these he painted several portraits of the nobility, over the hanging of which he quarrelled with the Academy, and from that date withdrew from its exhibitions. He died at his residence 60 Brook Street Grosvenor Square in the eighty-third year of his age.

Besides these, six other artists—Maclise, Unwins, Eastlake, Ross, Dyce and Stanfield, received a royal commission to paint in fresco eight lunettes in a summer house in Buckingham Palace gardens. Here they were brought into contact with the Queen and the Prince. Soon after eight o'clock in the mornings

of the summer of 1843, when this work was going on, the Sovereign and her consort having already breakfasted and heard morning prayers in the private chapel, came to talk with the painters "entirely stripped of all state and ceremony, courting conversation and desiring reason rather than obedience," according to one of them—Unwins.

Winterhalter, and Baron H. von Angeli likewise painted repeatedly both Her Majesty and many members of the royal family.

A member of the Royal Academy who was continually in intercourse with Prince Albert, was Charles Barry architect of the Houses of Parliament. On October 16, 1834, at half-past six in the evening, the old Houses burst into flame. Firemen, soldiers, policemen, and citizens, in vain endeavoured to quench the fire. An enormous crowd packed together in the great heat watched the flames pour from every window, listened to the crashing of glass, and finally heard the roof of the House of Commons fall with a mighty crash. When towards ten o'clock the fire—which was accounted for by the overheating of a stove—had partially died out, it was found that the House of Lords had been burned together with the House of Commons. Westminster Hall was preserved as well as the archives, among them the warrant for the execution of Charles I., signed by Cromwell. Nine pieces of tapestry that hung in the House of Lords

had disappeared. Considerable regret was felt for these which represented the Spanish Armada woven by Francis Spiring from designs by Hendrik Cornelius Vroom. His Majesty William IV., at once offered the use of Buckingham Palace—which he disliked and left unused—as a temporary home for Parliament, but as this was considered inconvenient, members continued to sit in what was left of the old building.

Among the crowd that watched the Houses of Parliament burn, was Charles Barry. Born within the shadow of the New Palace he was to erect, in Bridge Street, Westminster, he had not reached his fortieth year at the time of the fire. For all that he had built some excellent and beautiful buildings, such as the Reform Club and the Travellers' Club ; Holloway Schools ; the Royal Institution of Fine Arts, Manchester ; Birmingham Grammar School ; Sussex County Hospital, etc. While he gazed at the blaze, his mind was filled with thoughts of the new buildings to be erected on its site. That they should be raised by himself, was his confident hope. As the Government was not remarkable for its haste, the terms for completion of the new Houses were not published for some eight months later, June 1835. It was then stated that the style was to be Gothic or Elizabethan, and that the drawings were to be sent in without formal estimates. No fewer than ninety-seven architects competed for

the work. As it gradually oozed out that Charles Barry's design was accepted, his excitement became intense. On February 29, 1836, his was accepted because, as the Report of the Commissioners stated he had paid attention to "the consideration of the beauty and grandeur of the general design, to its practicability, to the skill shown in the various arrangements of the building, and the accommodation afforded, to the attention paid to the instructions delivered, as well as to the equal distribution of light and air through every part of the structure."

The Report of the Commissioners was approved by a Select Committee of the Houses. This was more than many of the competitors could stand, and furious indignation was felt that a man of his years should be marked out for favour. Anonymous articles in the reviews spoke of "a mere ecclesiastical style," which was merely "highly ornamental and meretricious"; while the judges were misled and incompetent. Finally an exhibition of the unsuccessful designs was opened to the public, March 21, 1836. This was intended to challenge comparison with the accepted plan. A meeting followed when it was resolved to take measures by which the unjust award to Charles Barry might be set aside. The chairman declared this was one of the occasions in which public duty must conquer private friendship, and defy the danger of misconstruction regarding their obligation which might be taken. Even-

tually it was resolved that the award of the Report of the Commissioners was not sanctioned by the people ; that the designs of Charles Barry did not deserve the reward given them ; that the Commissioners as a board of amateurs were necessarily unqualified to judge ; and that a petition to Parliament should be presented to ask that a revision should be made of the whole proceedings. This was prepared and presented June 22, 1836 by Mr. Hume and was disposed of and finally settled by Sir Robert Peel, who declared that if Mr. Hume's suggestion were adopted, the whole principle of competition would be destroyed and the public faith endangered.

Full of confidence Charles Barry laid the river wall in 1837, though it was not until April 27, 1840, that the first stone of the building was laid without public ceremony, at the time when Queen Victoria had been three years on the throne. On beginning to work at the New Palace, Westminster, as it was called, Charles Barry invited to his aid a man who had assisted him in making the designs for details at Birmingham Grammar School. This was Augustus Welby Pugin, born March 1, 1812, at 34, Store Street, Bedford Square, London, the son of Augustus Pugin who at the time of the French Revolution had escaped from the Bastille, swam the Seine, fled to Rouen, and landed in England. Here he was employed in making drawings for Nash the favourite architect of George IV.,

who was engaged in altering Buckingham Palace, and in building the Pavilion at Brighton. Augustus Welby Pugin received his first lessons in drawing under his father ; was entered at Christ's Hospital ; travelled in France ; and was entrusted with designing the furniture of Windsor Castle. A remarkable genius with a passion for Gothic architecture we owe to him such buildings as St. Chad's Church, Birmingham ; St. George's Cathedral, Southwark ; Downshire Priory, Bath ; St. Mary's, Derby ; St. Oswald's, Liverpool ; the College of Maynooth, Ireland ; Sibthorp's Alms-houses, Lincoln, to mention but a few among the many he constructed.

It was a disappointment to many that Pugin who understood and revered the Gothic style did not send a design for the New Palace of Westminster. When asked why he had failed to furnish one his reply was, " Barry's grand plan was immeasurably superior to any that I could at the time have produced, and had it been otherwise the Commissioners would have killed me in a twelvemonth." But though he declined to openly compete among the ninety-seven, we have it on the authority of Mr. Benjamin Ferrey, author of *Recollections of Pugin*, that he certainly aided a design offered by Gillespie Graham, which though it successfully treated the disposition and grouping of the parts, failed to secure the prize. He also contributed to that which did, number sixty-four. To use Mr. Ferrey's

words, "The appreciation in which Pugin's knowledge of Gothic art was held, secured for him when Mr. Barry's design was adopted, a large share in the actual execution of the work, but even of the original design some portion of its merit must be assigned to Pugin."

Fifteen years after Charles Barry passed away, the question as to what part in the building of the New Palace Pugin took, has been put before the public by his son. For upwards of seven years Pugin, by the desire of the Commissioners, and by the approbation of Charles Barry, was employed in the great work. In this his detailed drawings were invaluable to Barry, who sends him "many thanks for your glorious efforts in the great cause"; details which for their general effectiveness must bear considerable weight in estimating the building. He was also appointed to judge of the internal fittings, encaustic floors, decorations, glass-stainers, metal workers, carvers, so that his position in the works was scarcely less than Barry's. During all the time he laboured with a heartfelt devotion, and with entire sympathy and admiration of Barry. This is shown in a letter he wrote to *The Builder*, September 6, 1845, in which he says that in fulfilling the duties of his office, "I do not do anything whatever on my own responsibility, all models and working drawings being prepared from Mr. Barry's designs, and submitted to him for his approval or alteration,

previous to their being carried into effect ; in fine my occupation is simply to assist in carrying out practically Mr. Barry's own designs and views in all respects."

He often used to say that the only merit he claimed was in giving to other architects the key to knowledge, and that since he opened the door other men had entered and surpassed him in the goodness of the work. The real reason that he failed to take the higher position to which his genius entitled him, was the eccentricity which went with his character. Rather undersized with a broad forehead, quick dark eyes, and dull complexion, he was prompt in his actions, an inveterate talker, full of fun. Despising dress, he habitually wore a short jacket, loose trowsers, jackboots, and a soft hat, which in those days were considered the defiance of costume. So attired it happened that when one day he took his place in a first class carriage, the supercilious occupants took objection to him saying: "Halloa my man, you have mistaken your carriage," to which he instantly replied, "By Jove, I think you are right, I thought I was in the company of gentlemen."

Indifference to his own interests was continually shown by him ; for instance on his exhibiting the plans he had prepared for the erection of the Cathedral at Southwark. Some of the committee ventured to inquire the probable cost of the building

and the time it would take to erect, when Pugin desired the drawings might be handed to him, rolled them up, took his hat, and wished them good day. On recovering from their astonishment it was decided that one of them would wait on him later to ask what offence had been given him ; when he was told that he supposed he was dealing with people who knew their own minds, but he soon saw by their absurd question he had made a mistake. How could he frame an estimate for a building, only a small portion of which might possibly be raised in his lifetime ? Cathedrals have been the work of centuries begun by one founder and carried on by his successor. "Common sense should have taught the committee not to put such absurd questions to me. If you approve my design adopt it, and carry out all or part in its integrity as the means may be forthcoming." In the same spirit he stayed with Lord Stuart de Rothesay that he might give advice regarding a building to be erected near Christchurch. After dinner they discussed the details, in which the host was not inclined to agree with his guest. Further debate was left over till breakfast and they parted for the night good friends. Morning came but not Pugin, who at six o'clock had taken his carpet bag and walked to meet the coach to London.

Meanwhile the work of the New Palace went on, Pugin and Barry working harmoniously. It was

not the intention of the architect to allow the walls to rise higher than thirty feet a year, fearing a settlement if they proceeded at a more rapid rate. Its progress was consequently slow. In all that concerned it Prince Albert took great interest while careful not to obtrude his opinions. In 1841 he at the head of prominent statesmen and those supposed to possess taste, formed a Royal Commission, sometimes known as the Fine Arts Commission, to decide on the painting and ornamentation of the walls, galleries, and corridors of the building. Nicholas I. of Russia, King Frederick of Prussia, Louis Philippe, the King of Saxony, and the King of the Belgians, were taken to see and admire it.

One of the men responsible in some degree for this great and beautiful building sickened before its completion. This was Pugin who had built a house and church at his own expense at Ramsgate. This design of Gothic architecture was of the most correct and solid style. The cost of the land, building and fitting of the church—which was incomplete at his death—amounted to fifteen thousand pounds. In 1852 the eccentricities and irritation he had so long suffered from, threatened to merge into insanity. In a letter to Mr. Minto maker of encaustic tiles he writes “I am in such a deplorable nervous state that I am at times scarcely answerable for what I write; I am so dreadfully afflicted in the head.

You seemed to think that I had cheated and sent you a false account (though now I don't believe you did) and I cried like a child and trembled all over in dreadful perspiration, and I thought my fever had returned. Pray my dear Minto don't agitate me, the doctors say I am not to be agitated. If you saw your poor old friend so reduced as I am—thin, trembling, hollow-eyed, changed, and yet working tremendously at times—you would be very careful not to distress me." While visiting Charles Barry his state became noticeable. The consciousness of the dreadful disease which was pursuing him, struck fear into his heart, and he called upon his friends for compassion in his sufferings. "I believe I have been too hurried so soon after such an illness. I can't get my bodily strength up at all, and I perspire intensely to that degree as to be obliged to put on five or six shirts a day. . . . You have no conception of the dreadful agony which I still suffer, the least thing agitates me; I feel trembling and my eyesight is dimmed." He still continued to work, to occupy himself with innumerable matters, to answer his large correspondence, his restless mind urging him forward to its own destruction. On February 16, 1852, he wrote to Mr. Minto his last letter to him :

"Many thanks for your kind letter my dear friend. I don't think I have been myself. This nervous fever

is a dreadful delusion. Since I wrote I am no longer an architect, that is in a general way. After I wrote to you I was taken with a terrible relapse and a stagnation of blood. I soon became cold in all the vital parts and I felt that without instant relief I must die.

"I ordered three strong glasses of brandy: my doctor came in; and by the mercy of God and about half a pint of sal volatile which I drank off, and my dear wife putting on hot flannels all over me, with rubbing, in which others assisted at last the circulation returned. My medical man said this could not go on any longer, and he had a consultation of all the first medical men who declared that I could not live a week if I did not give up my profession. There was no hesitation on my part. I immediately relinquished all my buildings except Lord Shrewsbury's and Charles Barry's and of course yours which will not kill me. But I am a private gentleman, a grand fellow. The relief of my mind as the doctors predicted was instantaneous and succeeded perfectly, and I am thank God out of danger. I shall enshrine your kind letter among my most esteemed epistles. My mind has been deranged through over-exertion. The medical men said I had worked one hundred years in forty. I have not time to say more. I am ordered to Italy as soon as possible."

The first pronounced symptom of insanity was displayed to his doctor, though not recognised by him, one evening when returning from the sea. Pugin began by asking him if he had seen the dreadful accident which had occurred outside the harbour when no less than five merchant ships had sunk while striving to enter. The doctor professed ignorance of the unhappy occurrence when Pugin continued to give him all details in such a circumstantial manner that he was impressed by the truth of the story, and went away lamenting. Hurrying to dinner with some friends, he told them the news, when they were equally astonished at not hearing a word of it previously. Their astonishment was greater when on inquiry they found there was no truth in the story so plausibly told. On visiting Charles Barry, Pugin's state became so noticeable that his old friend sent for a doctor. He was then placed under control. Wide sympathy not only among men of science, art, and literature was strongly felt for him. There was considerable hope that rest and quiet would produce the self control he had lost. There was cause for this ; as when for example he was enraged at nothing in particular, he was suddenly asked why he did not forward the work at Beverley which was waiting for designs. At that he paused to think, and then called for a pencil, when on the back of an envelope he drew a graceful vane, which was afterwards fixed to the pinnacle of St. Mary's, Beverley.

After a short time the hope was fulfilled, and he was allowed to return to his home at Ramsgate. Great was his delight at his return. It was thought that mind and body would heal in his former surroundings. But his health was shattered and he died of convulsions September 14, 1852. He was in his forty-first year, and had married thrice, leaving eight children, the eldest of whom followed his father's profession. Though not unambitious, he did not desire distinction besides that which his merit gave him. But an officious friend nominated him without his consent for a vacancy amongst the Royal Academy. It will be astonishing to none that one of the most distinguished of English architects was not elected.

His remains were placed in a vault beneath the south transept of the Church of St. Augustine which he had founded at Ramsgate. Partially because of the cost of the church, of his indifference to worldly prosperity where it ran counter to his love of art, of his purchase of rare and costly books, he whose profession brought him thousands a year, died leaving his family in comparative poverty. Hearing this Her Majesty instantly ordered that a Civil List Pension should be granted to Mrs. Pugin.

Among those who watched his body lowered into the vault, few were more silently grieved than the man for whom he had worked for years, who above all others appreciated his high-souled love of his

profession. This was Charles Barry who in spite of vexations and disappointments still worked at the New Palace.

In the same year as that in which Pugin died, the Queen in opening Parliament made her public entrance through the Victorian Tower to the House of Lords. The building was sufficiently completed to show its superb appearance. The architect was then knighted at Windsor. His sturdy figure, his wide forehead, determined face with its large nose and square chin, were characteristic of his energy and ambition. During the time of forming his plans for the New Palace, he seldom gave more than four or five hours to sleep. His life was given to this building which was to perpetuate his memory. In his last days disagreements with the Treasury regarding payment for his labour, disparagement of the work, and censures of its architect, struck home to his naturally sanguine temperament.

But to the end he passed his life in a happy home circle. Returning to his residence in Clapham Common from spending the afternoon at the Crystal Palace, he died of heart disease at eleven o'clock that evening May 12, 1860. He was buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey. His funeral was attended by all that was notable in the Houses of Lords and Commons ; of the Church ; of the Royal Academy ; the Institute of British Architects ; and the Institute of Civil Engineers.

On the day of the funeral, May 22, the day before his sixty-fifth birthday, a flag floated half-mast high above the Victorian Tower. The building of the New Palace which he had not lived to see finally completed, was carried on by his son Mr. Edward Barry.

END OF VOL. I

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